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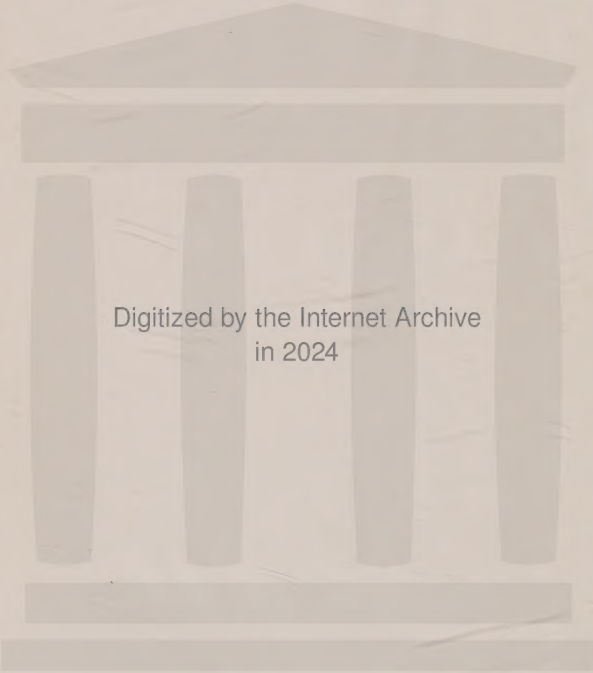
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A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

Third Period

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

First Period

FROM THE PLANTING OF THE CHURCH IN BRITAIN TO
THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII.,
596-1509

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

Second Period

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE SILENCING OF
CONVOCATION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1509-1717

THE STUDENT'S ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

A HISTORY
OF THE
ENGLISH CHURCH

Third Period

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER
TO THE PRESENT TIME

By G. G. PERRY, M.A.

CANON OF LINCOLN AND RECTOR OF WADDINGTON

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PREFACE

THE present volume completes the *Student's Manual of English Church History*, and brings to a conclusion a work which has been the labour of many years. This volume is intended to displace the short sketch of the history of the eighteenth century inserted as an Appendix in the first edition of Part II., and to supply a history of the present century down to the year 1884. It is now more than twenty years since I first wrote the *History of the Church of England in the Eighteenth Century*. At that time no one, I think, had attempted it. Since my book was published (1864) numerous writers have employed themselves on this period. Of these Messrs. Abbey and Overton are distinguished for the fulness of the information furnished by them, the result of very extended research, and the numerous biographies of bishops and others, to be found in their pages. In spite, however, of the great amount of information on this period now within the reach of the public, there seems still room for a concise and systematic account of the eighteenth century, which I have endeavoured to furnish here. As regards the history of the nineteenth century, the work has been found one of considerable difficulty. To treat, indeed, the religious history of the present century in absolute historical fashion, within the compass of a

small work, seems almost impossible. I have endeavoured to set before students the main points of interest, preserving chronological order as much as possible. I have also endeavoured to give somewhat of the history of opinion in the Church by means of numerous quotations from pamphlets, charges, etc. I do not flatter myself that I have altogether succeeded, or that my statements will be accepted by all as fair representations. I have endeavoured honestly to make them so, but in speaking of contemporary events, one cannot altogether occupy the position of an outsider; and a colourless and dispassionate criticism is not, perhaps, the temper most suitable for a narrator of events having the strongest bearing upon the most weighty of all subjects.

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A HISTORY

OF

THE ENGLISH CHURCH

CHAPTER I.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND DURING
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1717-1800

1. External and internal history to be related separately.
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1. THE history of the Church of England during the eighteenth century cannot well be written in the way of a chronicle, preserving an exact order in the sequence of events. The external and political history of the Church has but little connection with its internal and more real history, and to relate both of these together is liable to produce confusion. It is thought better, therefore, to give first a sketch of outward and political events bearing upon the progress of the Church of England during this period,

and then to give continuously a record of the internal movement, controversial and spiritual, which was actively at work throughout the century.

2. The death of Queen Anne and the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty had a disastrous influence on the Church of England. A considerable section of the clergy by declining the oaths practically separated themselves from the Church. But a much larger number, who held similar opinions, accepted the Hanoverian Government while still wishing and praying for the restoration of the old line. These were known by the name of Jacobites. The greater part of them held the doctrine of infeasible hereditary right and the duty of passive obedience. They qualified indeed these doctrines more or less by considerations of necessity, by the evident impossibility of bringing about a change of dynasty, and by reflection on their obligations to their families and their people. But though they had thus brought themselves to acquiesce in a *de facto* government, it was not with any goodwill or heartiness that these clergy accepted the changed state of things. On the contrary, they were ill at ease, and dissatisfied both with themselves and the Government. They bore a grudge against the bishops, who were usually selected for their Whig opinions; and they were equally indignant with the non-jurors, whose secession was a standing protest against the half-hearted position which they themselves unwillingly held. The uneasiness and dissatisfaction of the Jacobite clergy were a great source of weakness to them in their ministerial work, and tended much to the spread of false opinions, and to the admiration excited by any display of energy, however faulty.

3. By far the most prominent man among the Jacobite clergy was Francis Atterbury, made Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster in 1713. Atterbury, famous as a preacher, speaker, and writer, the champion through all the long Convocation strife of the extreme High Church party, when he found himself in the House of Lords under the new dynasty, set himself diligently to combat by speech and protest every Government measure, and proved him-

self a very thorn in the side of the Ministry. He was regarded with enthusiasm by all the Jacobite clergy, but his bold spirit did not long rest contented with the anomalous position which they held. In August 1717 he formally professed his allegiance to the Pretender, having long before done all he could to further his cause. He writes to James—"I have for many years past neglected no opportunity (and particularly no advantage my station afforded me) towards promoting the service. Whatever happens I shall go on in that way. My daily prayer to God is that you may have success."¹ Yet though thus declaring himself a partisan, there is no evidence that the bishop, at any rate as yet, contemplated the employment of any but legitimate means of warfare. In his view the Hanoverian succession was a Parliamentary settlement, which might fairly be overset and reversed by another Parliamentary settlement. Accordingly in his place in Parliament he fought a strenuous battle against every measure which savoured of the new policy either in Church or State.

4. In 1718 a Bill was brought into Parliament to authorise the application to the rebuilding of the Church of St. Giles' in the Fields of part of the sum voted in Queen Anne's time for the building of fifty new churches. This was opposed by the bishop as a misapplication of the fund, which was intended for erecting new churches, not for saving the pockets of the parishioners by renovating old ones. And it was more especially opposed because in the draft of the Bill the words "of pious memory" were not appended, as was usually the custom, to the name of the late Queen. This was regarded as an indication of a change of sentiment in the ruling body towards the Church. An attempt to insert the words was made, but without success, and then the bishop drew up a protest, which was signed by many peers, to the effect that these words ought specially to have been inserted in a Bill which recited an Act of Parliament of so pious and gracious a character, carrying out what was recommended by her Majesty to her Parliament, and by them declared to be so much to the honour of God, the spiritual welfare of her Majesty's subjects, the

¹ *Stuart Papers*, vol. i. Letter I.

interests of the Established Church, and the glory of her Majesty's reign."¹

5. In December 1718 there came on a matter in the House of Lords which excited the Bishop of Rochester's keenest interest, and called forth the utmost efforts of his eloquence. Under the general title of an "Act for strengthening the Protestant interest," it was proposed to repeal the Act against occasional conformity, the Schism Act, and some parts of the Test and Corporation Acts. The latter part of the measure it was found necessary afterwards to abandon, as the anti-papal feeling was too strong to be offended rashly, but the Bill for doing away the other two Acts found favour in the House of Lords. There was a great debate in which many of the bishops took part. Archbishop Wake strongly opposed the measure, reprobating "the scandalous practice of occasional conformity, which was condemned by the soberest part of the Dissenters themselves." The Archbishop of York made some severe reflections upon Hoadley, whom he accused of having changed his opinions since he wrote against Calamy on conformity. Hoadley replied that the archbishop was mistaken in imputing any change to him. Atterbury declared that this Bill was nothing more than he had expected, as he clearly saw which way things were going. In his opinion the Bill struck at the security of the Church; it went against the Act of Uniformity which was confirmed by the Act of Union, and thus affected the Church of Scotland as well. He concluded his speech with a sort of menace, telling the Lords that they "lived in a changeable country, and the hardships which the Dissenters bring now upon the Church, may one day or other, and with more justice, be retaliated upon them."²

6. Atterbury continued to frame and exhibit telling and bitter protests against every Government measure, being supported by a considerable number of lay peers, and by one or two of his Episcopal brethren. His greatest force and utmost zeal were excited against the "Quakers' Affirmation Bill," brought into the Lords, January 1722. He is reported to have said: "He did not know why such

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, vii. 551.

² *Ib.* 574.

a distinguishing indulgence, as was intended by this Bill, should be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians.”¹ Again, on January 15, on the adjourned debate, the “Bishop of Rochester endeavoured to prove that the Quakers were not Christians.”² Doubtless he had no small share in prompting the famous petition of the London clergy which described the Quakers “as a set of men who renounce the divine institutions of Christ, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into His religion, and denominated Christians, and who cannot, on this account, according to the uniform judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, be deemed worthy of that sacred name.”³ The petition was voted libellous and rejected, whereupon appeared one of Atterbury’s ready protests. This recites “that the right of petition is an undoubted privilege of the people of this realm, and the clergy are no less privileged in this respect than others; that the petition rejected was proper and inoffensive both as to the matter and manner of it, since it partly relates to the peculiar right of the clergy in respect of tithes, and partly expresses their fears, as we conceive not altogether groundless, lest the sect of the Quakers, already too numerous, should by this new indulgence be greatly multiplied, and lest the honour of religion should in any way suffer, and the foundations of government be shaken, by what is intended, both which it is the particular duty of their function to uphold and secure. . . . The clergy of London are not so liberally provided for, but that they have reason to be watchful in any step that may unwarily be taken towards diminishing their maintenance, and they are, in our opinion, and have always been esteemed, of great consideration with regard to their extensive influence and their ability to be serviceable to the State in important conjunctions. . . . The treating in this manner a petition from any great and considerable body of men is not the way to allay the jealousies and extinguish the uneasiness that occasioned it. And the oftener such instances are repeated, the more we fear the disaffection of the people will increase; and though the modest and

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, vii. 938.² *Ib.* 942.³ *Ib.* 948.

dutiful demeanour of the clergy should no ways contribute to these consequences, yet we know not how far this may be the case with respect to their flocks, to whom their persons and characters are dear, and who may be induced by the reverence they bear to their pastors, to express as much concern on their account as they would on their own.”¹

7. This vigorous protest was not the last word which Atterbury had to say upon this obnoxious Bill. Upon the passing of the first stage another protest was handed in which attacks the Quakers with still greater vigour. They are declared not to be worthy of receiving distinguishing marks of favour inasmuch as, by reason of their rejecting the sacraments, they were not Christians, and also as not having subscribed the declaration prescribed by law as to our Lord’s divinity. “It will,” it said, “reflect some dishonour on the Christian faith if the evidence given by such persons on their bare word shall by law be judged of equal credit with the solemn oath of an acknowledged Christian, and sincere member of the established communion. It was highly unreasonable that when nobles, clergy, and commons were obliged to swear fealty to the Crown, and the Sovereign himself to swear fealty at his coronation, a particular sect of men who refuse to serve the State either in civil offices or as soldiers should be entirely released from that obligation. That there was in fact no security that any one might not call himself a Quaker; that as to their being well affected to the Government this might be made an equal reason for granting privileges to Deists, Arians, Jews, and even heathens. No man, it is affirmed, should be prosecuted for his religion, so neither should any man who is known to avow principles destructive to Christianity, however useful he may otherwise be to the State, be encouraged by a law made purposely in his favour to continue in those principles.”² Probably this protest expressed pretty nearly the feelings of the High Church and Jacobite clergy towards the Dissenters. That feeling was exceedingly bitter, and the Bishop of Rochester, as the mouth-piece of it, enjoyed a vast popularity among them.

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, vii. 944.

² *Ib.* vii. 947.

8. This popularity was perhaps somewhat shaken but not by any means destroyed by the misfortune and disgrace which now soon overtook the bold and talented bishop. From the date of August 1717 Atterbury had been in constant correspondence with the exiled family. His letters always breathe a sanguine and hopeful spirit as to the probable success of the Jacobite cause, but he never betrays the least willingness to abandon the cause of the Church of England. He is very angry with the "Hanoverian Tories," whom he calls the most "despicable party" in England. He mentions a rumour that Convocation might probably be allowed to sit again, "which had been dismissed purely to hinder any proceedings against that favourite." In 1720 the bishop becomes less sanguine and more truly estimates the position. "Disaffection and uneasiness will continue everywhere and probably increase. The bulk of the nation will be still in the true interest, and on the side of justice, and the present settlement will perhaps be detested every day more than it is already, and yet no effectual step will or can be taken here to shake it." A plot which had been arranged for the beginning of 1722 miscarried, and was abandoned. With this the bishop had nothing to do. With the intrigues which followed he is generally credited with having had a more intimate connection. The correspondence of Atterbury with the Stuarts was known or, at any rate, suspected by Walpole. His opposition to the Government had been so damaging that it was determined at any cost to silence it. But before attempting the somewhat hazardous plan of proceeding against him for treasonable practices, the minister, acting according to his usual instincts, tried the effect of an enormous bribe. "There are persons now living," writes Mr. Nicholls, "who have been told from respectable authority that Winchester was offered to him whenever it should become vacant, and till that should happen, a pension of £5000 a year, besides an ample provision for Mr. Morice (his son-in-law), if he would cease to give the opposition he did to Sir R. Walpole's administration."¹ But Atterbury was not to be bought, and in consequence

¹ Nicholls, *Memoir of Atterbury*, p. 41.

it was determined to use his Jacobite connection to effect his ruin.

9. To the plot arranged against Atterbury, the Earl of Mar, James's Secretary of State, who was jealous of the bishop, and who was in the pay of the English Government, readily lent himself. He re-opened a correspondence with Atterbury, making divers propositions to him with regard to the service of the Pretender. He thus laid a probable foundation for the bishop's writing to him, and then three letters, purporting to be sent by Atterbury to Mar, General Dillon, and James, found their way into the hands of the Government.¹ The question arises whether these letters were genuine or forged. They were not in Atterbury's hand, he being at that time laid up with the gout, and incapable of writing; but they were apparently in the hand of George Kelly, who had acted for the bishop as amanuensis. The letters bear date April 20 (1722), six days before the death of the bishop's wife. They were stopped at the post-office, copied, forwarded to their destination, and then steps were taken to bring them home to Atterbury. The letters were written in cipher, and in cipher of two kinds. Immediately after the letters had been despatched Colonel Churchill was sent to Paris by the Government to see Lord Mar. One of the letters had been signed T. Illington, and in order to fix this upon the bishop it was arranged that Lord Mar should write a letter to "Mr. Illington," in which the receipt of the letter signed T. Illington should be acknowledged, and at the same time should use such expressions as clearly to show that T. Illington was none other than the Bishop of Rochester. This letter was sent by post, intercepted, and copied, and it formed the sole ground for imputing the authorship of the three intercepted letters to Atterbury.

10. On August 22, 1722, Atterbury was arrested at Westminster and brought before the Privy Council. "Though taken by surprise," says Lord Stanhope, "his answers to their questions showed his usual coolness and self-possession, and he is said to have concluded with the words of the

¹ The letters are published in the *Stuart Correspondence*, edited by Mr. Glover.

Saviour, 'If I tell you ye will not believe, and if I also ask you ye will not answer me nor let me go.' After three-quarters of an hour's examination he was sent to the Tower privately in his own coach without any public notice or disturbance."¹ His imprisonment in the Tower was attended with extraordinary harshness. He says, "I have been treated with such severity and so great indignities as I believe no prisoner in the Tower of my age, infirmities, and rank ever underwent, by which means what little strength and use of my limbs I had when committed in August last is now far impaired."² Meantime great excitement prevailed among the clergy, and the deepest sympathy was shown for the bishop. "Under pretence of his being afflicted with the gout he was publicly prayed for in most of the churches of London and Westminster, and there was spread among the people a pathetic print of the bishop looking through the bars of his prison and holding in his hand a portrait of Archbishop Laud."³ Pamphlets were written on the subject of his treatment, and the excitement increased.⁴

11. The ministers, apparently afraid to bring the bishop to trial, determined to proceed against him in the House of Commons by a Bill of Pains and Penalties. The bishop declined to defend himself before the House of Commons, but reserved his defence for the House of Lords. A telling protest was put in by some of his friends against this way of dealing with criminal cases by Act of Parliament, which was truly alleged to be in the highest degree dangerous to innocent persons, and alien from English law. The case, however, went forward. George Kelly on his previous trial emphatically denied having written the letters

¹ *Hist. of England*, ii. 35. ² *Atterbury's Correspondence*, v. 365.

³ Stanhope's *Hist. of England*, ii. 38.

⁴ "A letter to the Clergy of the Church of England on occasion of the commitment of the Lord Bishop of Rochester to the Tower," Sept. 19, 1722. This was answered, Oct. 15, by "A layman's letter to a Bishop of the Church of England on the Bishop of Rochester's commitment to the Tower," by Philotheus. The writer is exceedingly severe on the clergy, whom he attacks with unmeasured abuse (*Atterbury Tracts*, Brit. Mus.) This tract was answered, Oct. 18, by another letter.

with which the bishop was charged, but the deciphered letters were put in against the bishop, though no proof whatever was offered that they were deciphered correctly.¹ An utter disregard of justice seems to have prevailed throughout the whole trial. On May 11 (1723) the bishop delivered his defence in the House of Lords, which has generally been esteemed a most able oration, but which it would be impossible to commend were it indeed true that the letters inculcated were in fact written by him. On May 15 the debate was resumed. Several of the bishops spoke strongly against Atterbury, on which Lord Bathurst made his famous retort: "He could hardly account for their inveterate malice and hatred towards the learned and ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was that they were intoxicated with the infatuation of some of the wild Indians, who fondly believe that they inherit not only the spoils but even the abilities of any great enemy they kill."² The House passed the Bill by 83 to 43. Atterbury was condemned to be deprived of his See and Deanery, to be made incapable of pardon, and to be banished for life. He retired into France, where he became an active worker in the Pretender's service, but never in any way changed his religious views, dying as a faithful member of the Church of England in Paris in March 1732.

12. By the fall of Atterbury Jacobitism among the clergy received a great blow. They were cowed and terror-stricken, and for the most part contented themselves with private murmurings and expressions of dissatisfaction, showing no willingness to take active steps in support of what was manifestly a lost cause. When in 1745 the young Pretender invaded England and marched as far as

¹ That the letters were deciphered correctly abundant proof has been found, the key having been discovered among the *Stuart Papers*, and the great correctness of the interpretation, a few little blunders being made evidently for a blind, has led Mr. Glover, the able editor of the *Stuart Papers*, to the conclusion that the letters and the deciphering were done by the same hand, viz. in all probability by Philip Neynoe, a Romish priest who had been mixed up in all the Jacobite intrigues, but who was a traitor to the cause, and in the pay of Walpole. Neynoe afterwards committed suicide. See *Stuart Papers*, vol. i. appendix, p. 16.

² *Parl. Hist.*, viii. 353.

Derby, the clergy showed no active co-operation with him. The young Prince was sorely perplexed and disappointed. He had been led to think that he would find very general support from them.¹ But their conduct exhibited only a cold indifference. They were allowed plenty of liberty under the Hanoverian dynasty, the bishops not concerning themselves much about them, and they, no doubt, had a great dread of Popery in connection with the Stuart family. Thus Jacobitism gradually died out, except as a harmless sentiment, until the death of Charles Edward finally extinguished it. The nonjuring section of the Jacobite party had more vitality, and a greater interest belongs to their history, which will be given subsequently.²

13. The fall of Bishop Atterbury, and the odium thrown upon High Church opinions thereby, sufficed to silence to a great extent the voice of the Church in the Legislature. Moreover, the selection of divines for the prelacy was studiously regulated by the consideration as to whether they would be supporters of the minister, or, at any rate, not troublesome opponents of his policy. A palpable instance of the prevalence of such views in determining promotion was given, when, on the death of Archbishop Wake in 1737, Gibson, Bishop of London, was passed over for the Primacy, and the highest office in the Church was conferred upon Potter, Bishop of Oxford. Bishop Gibson had for some years, during the illness of Archbishop Wake, acted as ecclesiastical adviser to Sir Robert Walpole, who completely trusted him, and deferred to his opinion. His influence probably availed to prevent some objectionable appointments, and was generally beneficial to the Church, inasmuch as Queen Caroline, who took great interest in ecclesiastical matters, preferred divines of the school of Clarke, Hoadley, and Herring to Churchmen such as the learned author of the *Codex* and the *Synodus Anglicana*. But Bishop Gibson ventured to assert his Churchmanship

¹ He had been told by Dr. Wagstaffe (the nonjuring bishop) that he must not judge the clergy by the bishops, who were not promoted for piety or learning, but for writing pamphlets, being active at elections, and voting as the Ministry directed.—*English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 103, note.

² See Chap. III.

in a way disagreeable to the minister, and was made to suffer accordingly.

14. Sir Robert Walpole cultivated the Dissenters and desired to remain on good terms with them, looking upon their influence as a set-off against the Romanist and non-juring party. But when the Dissenters naturally desired the repeal of the obnoxious Test Act the minister felt himself obliged to oppose them. He dreaded the admission of Romanists and friends of the Stuarts to the offices of State, and could not afford to offend the Church. He clung therefore to this objectionable weapon of defence, caring little for the degradation inflicted by it on the Church of England by making her highest service a mere civil test. The repeal of the Act against occasional conformity, which allowed the reception of the Lord's Supper in the Anglican form on one occasion to be a sufficient test, did not do away with the profanation, although it had the effect of making it valueless. Sir Robert, in performing the delicate task of refusing to his dissenting friends their reasonable request, spoke with much dexterity. He "expressed himself so cautiously with regard to the Church and so affectionately with regard to Dissenters, that neither party had cause to complain of him."¹ In this policy Bishop Gibson went with him, as it was long before any Churchman could contemplate without terror the repealing of the Test Act. But immediately after the rejection of the motion for the repeal of the Test Act the minister and the bishop parted company.

15. It has been seen that a certain amount of relief was given to the very scrupulous sect of Quakers in a former Parliament, in spite of the vigorous opposition of Bishop Atterbury and the London clergy. But it seemed to many that, even if the Quakers were to be regarded as not Christians, and all the more perhaps for that very reason, it was unjust to proceed against them in the ecclesiastical courts for the non-payment of tithes and ecclesiastical dues, and to fine, imprison, and vex them. It was creditable to the House of Commons that there should be a general desire to relieve the sect from such persecution, and it is

¹ Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 367.

by no means a credit to the clergy that they should have used every effort to defeat the Bill brought in to the Commons for this purpose. The petitions that poured in set forth "that such a law would be extremely prejudicial to themselves and their brethren, excluding them from the benefit of the laws then in being for the recovery of tithes and other dues, and thereby putting the clergy of the Established Church upon a worse foot than the rest of his Majesty's subjects ; and praying to be heard by counsel against the Bill."¹ The Bill, nevertheless, passed the House of Commons by a large majority. In the House of Lords, however, it had a more serious opposition to encounter. Bishop Gibson had exerted himself to influence his brother prelates against it, and to procure numerous petitions from the clergy, and being supported in the debate by the law lords, who objected to the wording of the measure, the Bill was defeated by a majority of 19. The minister never forgave the bishop this opposition to his will. There was a large body of Quakers among his constituents, who had always supported him, and whom he did not desire to alienate, a consideration which weighed with Sir Robert Walpole probably even more than the desire to promote religious liberty.

16. Potter, Bishop of Oxford and Regius Professor of Divinity, owed his promotion to the Primacy therefore rather to the pique of the minister than to any superiority of merit ; yet though he was no doubt far inferior in power and ecclesiastical learning to Gibson, his promotion was by no means an evil to the English Church. He was a sound Churchman, as is evidenced by his treatise on Church Government, and his writings against Hoadley. But the most valuable trait in his character was that he was strongly opposed to any alteration in the Prayer Book, which during his Primacy began to be seriously threatened and agitated for by some restless spirits among the clergy.² Perhaps, indeed, under any circumstances, Sir Robert Walpole's determination to have peace at any price might have availed to preserve the formularies of the Church intact ; but, if Hoadley had been Primate and there had

¹ Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 368.

² See Chap. V.

been encouragement in the highest quarter, mischief might have been done. Archbishop Potter, however, assured the Wesleys that any such attempt would have his determined opposition. "There should be no innovation in the formularies of the Church while he lived."¹

17. In 1747, at the death of Potter, Bishop Gibson might have succeeded to the Primacy, but age and infirmities prevented him from accepting it,² and it fell to Herring, Archbishop of York, whose recommendations were, that he had been zealous in opposing the rebellion of 1745, was of an amiable disposition, and a Latitudinarian, if not an Arian, in his opinions. Sherlock, Bishop of Salisbury, succeeded Bishop Gibson in the See of London in 1748, and both he and Bishop Gooch of Norwich were in favour of a comprehension scheme, which, by getting rid of the Athanasian Creed, putting the articles into Scripture phrase, and some other changes, might make the Prayer Book acceptable to the Dissenters, who, on their part, would submit to the imposition of Episcopal hands, provided they were not called upon to renounce their former orders. To this scheme Archbishop Herring was very favourably inclined, but he does not appear to have had sufficient energy to press it, and the late proof of the vitality of Jacobitism naturally led the minister to discourage it. "I can tell you of certain science," writes Bishop Warburton to his friend Dr. Hurd, "that not the least alteration will be made in the ecclesiastical system. The present ministers were bred up under, and act entirely on the maxims of the last. And one of the principal of his (Sir R. Walpole's) was not to stir what is at rest. Those at the head of affairs find it as much as they can do to govern things as they are, and will never venture to set one part of the clergy against the other; the consequence of which would be that in the intrigues of political contests one of the two parties would certainly fall in with the faction, if we must call it so, against the Court."³

18. The political doctrine, which prevailed all through

¹ Southey's *Life of Wesley*, i. 221.

² Coxe's *Walpole*, ii. 372, and note.

³ Warburton's *Letters, Doddridge Correspondence*, v. 167.

the eighteenth century as regards Church legislation in Parliament, was to let well alone; and to this, in part, was probably due the defeat of the Anti-Subscription movement, of which an account is given in another place.¹ This policy was attractive enough to prevail over the principles of justice and equity, in the opposition shown to the Dissenters' Relief Bill, which was before Parliament in 1773. The bishops were at that time embittered against the Dissenters by an attempt which had recently been made to repeal the *Nullum Tempus* law, and thus prevent the revival of the dormant claims of the Church to any property which had been lost sight of or alienated. They looked upon this as an invasion of their temporal rights; and a motion also made at this time to abolish the observance of the 30th January seemed to threaten the revival of the old Puritan spirit. Hence they were not disposed to make concessions to the Dissenters however just their claims. About the justice of this claim there could scarcely be two opinions. The Toleration Act of the Revolution had made it a condition for enjoying its privileges, that there should be a subscription by the body tolerated of the doctrinal articles of the English Church. Thus Unitarians and Arians were in law excluded from toleration, although in fact they enjoyed it. But the anomaly was palpable. Why should a Dissenter from the Church be called upon to subscribe any of her formularies? The Dissenters proposed in lieu of subscription a declaration, that they were Christians, and that they took the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the rule of their faith and practice. But though this was acceptable to the Commons, it was vigorously opposed by the bishops in the Lords. Quotations were made from the writings of Dr. Priestley and others, which seemed to show a bitter spirit of hostility on the part of the Dissenters to the Church, and the Bill was rejected by a large majority.

19. In 1778 some relief was given to the Romanists, one of the most disgraceful of the penal Acts ever passed against them (that of the 11th year of William III.) being repealed. This Act, among other savage penalties, enabled

¹ See Chap. V.

a son to take away his father's estates during his lifetime by turning Protestant. Happily, on this occasion there was found an Episcopal orator who did not shrink from enunciating sentiments worthy of his place. Dr. Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterboro', said: "I cannot but disapprove of all laws calculated to oppress men for their religious persuasion, and to tempt any one with views of interest to trespass upon his duty and natural affection by depriving his father of his estate, or supplanting his brethren, is a policy in my judgment inconsistent with reason, with justice and humanity."¹ The Act was removed from the Statute Book. But such was the state of feeling in the country that this very moderate act of justice led directly to the fearful excesses of the Gordon riots (1780).

20. At length in 1779 the Dissenters' Relief Bill passed, a declaration similar to the one proposed in 1773 being substituted for subscription. The prelates in the Upper House, as though ashamed of their former intolerance, were now silent. But when in 1787 the Dissenters made another attempt to procure the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts they were not so successful. There were not wanting orators in the Commons to denounce with fitting scorn the profanation of the holy mysteries. "If there be anything serious in religion," said Mr. Beaufoy, "if the doctrines of the Church of England be not a mere mockery of the human understanding, then it will necessarily follow that no pretexts of State policy can justify this enormous profanation of the most sacred ordinance of the Christian faith, this monstrous attempt, as irrational as it is profane, to strengthen the Church of England by the debasement of the Church of Christ."² But Lord North replied that it was the general wish of the clergy that this restriction should be preserved; that it was "the corner-stone of the constitution" and must not be interfered with. Mr. Pitt, though he defended the retention of the Test, was not altogether satisfied in his own mind about it, and in consequence requested Archbishop Moore to summon a meeting of his suffragans and take their opinion on the matter. This practical proof of

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, xix. 1143.

² *Ib.* xxvi. 815.

the necessity of Convocation took place accordingly. But only two prelates were found to be in favour of the removal of the tests, while ten were against it.¹

21. But the fact of having made this reference to the bishops seemed to show in the minister signs of yielding, and the advocates of the repeal again brought forward their motion in 1789. The tests were defended as necessary for the safety of the Establishment, but no one ventured to argue for them on the grounds of principle, whereas the eloquence directed against them was as overwhelming as ever. "If it be thought requisite," said Mr. Beaufoy, "that Dissenters should be excluded from the common privileges of citizens, why must the sacrament be made the instrument of the wrong? why must the purity of the temple be polluted? why must the sanctity of the altar be defiled? why must the most sacred ordinance of the faith be exposed to such gross, such unnecessary prostitution? Is it possible that you can permit an ordinance so entirely abstracted from all temporal pursuits to be condemned to the drudgery of the meanest of human interests, to be subjected to the polluted steps of the lowest avarice and of the most despicable ambition, to be dragged into the service of every insignificant stipend and of every contemptible office, and, as with a view to its utter debasement in the minds of the people, to be made a qualification for gauging beer-barrels and soap-boilers' tubs, for writing custom-house dockets and debentures, and for seizing smuggled tea?"² On this occasion the numbers against the repeal were so much less than on previous occasions that the attempt was renewed again the next year. But now the terrible excesses of the French Revolution had turned all men's minds away from any notions of removal of what were thought to be safeguards and defences of the Church. The motion was rejected by a large majority, and the obnoxious tests survived for another thirty-eight years.

22. The same events which had the effect of hardening men against any relief to Protestant Dissenters, the prin-

¹ Watson's *Life by Himself*, i. 261.

² *Parl. Hist.*, xxviii. 14.

ciples of some of whom were thought to be in harmony with the Revolutionary party abroad, operated in a different way as regards the Romanists. The persecution which was being inflicted upon the Church in France served to recommend the Romanist claims to the English mind, and in 1791 another very considerable relief was given to them, their exemption from the penal statutes still existing being allowed, upon their taking an oath of loyalty and allegiance. This allowance was first claimed for a body called the Catholic Dissenters, who protested against the Pope's claims to temporal authority in England, but it was afterwards extended to all who were willing to take the oath prescribed. The form of the oath was in the first instance drawn with great stringency, inso-much that three out of the four vicars apostolic in England protested against it, and the proposed relief seemed destined to benefit but very few. At this point Bishop Horsley came to the rescue: "I persuade myself," he said, "that the long-wished-for season for the abolition of the penal laws is come. Emancipated from the prejudices which once carried them away, the Roman Catholics are led by the genuine principles of their religion to inoffensive conduct, to dutiful submission, and to cordial loyalty. My lords, I quarrel with this Bill for the partiality of its operation. It is to relieve Roman Catholics from the penal laws under the condition that they take an oath of allegiance, abjuration, and declaration, the terms of which oath the Bill prescribes. Now, my lords, it is, I believe, a well-known fact, that a very great number of the Roman Catholics scruple the terms on which the oath is unfortunately drawn, and declare they cannot bring themselves to take it. My lords, if your lordships should be moved to reject this Bill, rather than the Roman Catholics should be finally unrelieved, I would pledge myself to your lordships, to the Roman Catholics, and my country, to bring in a Bill early in the next session, which should not be pregnant with the mischiefs which seem to me to be the certain consequences of this Bill."¹ The objection to the oath approved itself to the House, and, in committee, the

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, xxix. 668-679.

terms of it were altered in a way to satisfy the consciences of those who were to be relieved.

23. There could scarce be a greater mischief to the Church of England than these clumsy endeavours to prop her up by unjustly restrictive laws. To this is mainly due the widespread mistake, that the Church in this country is merely a State-created establishment, and not a true branch of the Catholic Church. To the idea also, that the Church has no rights as against the laity, was due the long continuance of certain relations between the patrons of livings and the incumbents, which regarded the latter as being in a sort of subservient and dependent position with respect to the former. Of these the most mischievous was the practice of lay patrons requiring of their presentees to benefices bonds of resignation, which in fact reduced the incumbent to a state of complete slavery to the patron. Archbishop Secker thus describes this evil practice—"The true meaning of a bond to resign is to enslave the incumbent to the will and pleasure of his patron, whatever it shall happen at any time to be. So that if he demands his legal dues; if he is not subservient to the schemes political or whatever they are which he is required to promote; if he reproves such and such vices; if he preaches or does not preach such and such doctrines; if he stands up for charity and justice to any one when he is forbidden, the terror of resignation or the penalty of the bond may immediately be shaken over his head."¹ This truly was to put the clergy into "a state of dependence, awe, and apprehension, inconsistent with their stations as ministers of the gospel." A great benefit, therefore, was done to the Church of England when in 1782 Lord Lough-

¹ Secker's *Works*, v. 361. Bishop Watson points out another development of this evil practice. "Suppose a living to be now vacant, the value of the next presentation to be £5000; the patron by the 31st Elizabeth cannot sell this living; the clerk by 12th Anne cannot buy it, but by the magic of a general bond of resignation both the patron and the clerk are freed from restraint. The clerk in consequence of his bond gets possession of the benefice which he could not purchase, and the patron, by suing the bond, gets possession of his money."—Watson's *Life by Himself*, i. 195.

borough's decision that these bonds were good in law was reversed on appeal to the House of Lords.¹

24. Another mischievous and simoniacal practice was removed by the spirit and energy of Porteus, Bishop of London. A custom had grown up of purchasing the advowson of a living which was not vacant, and then by a dexterous arrangement entering at once into the temporalities, in case the bishop should decline to accept the resignation of the incumbent. The purchaser, by giving a peppercorn rent for the tithes, glebe, etc., obtained the revenues of the benefice without delay, and as license for non-residence was easily procured, might also gain possession of the glebe house, and become the *de facto* rector of a parish while the real incumbent was still alive. Bishop Porteus refused to institute a clerk who had taken a lease of this description, and after a long and expensive lawsuit carried his point.²

25. The removal of these abuses was due to the action of the law courts and not to any help or consideration which the Church obtained in Parliament. In fact, throughout the eighteenth century the action of Parliament in aid of the Church was almost *nil*. Convocation being mute the needs of the Church were not pressed upon the governing body, and if they had been there is no evidence that they would have met with much attention. The character of the Church as a spiritual body was absolutely forgotten or ignored. The only spiritual persons brought before the public politically were the bishops, and they were very far from enforcing or upholding the spiritual character of the body of which they were the officers. They lived as lay lords, having certain functions to perform, as the Lord Chancellor or the judges might have. They were scandalously remiss in bringing the claims of the Church before the Legislature, and politicians were well contented, in the absence of pressure, to carry on Walpole's policy of "letting well alone." There could be no clearer proof of the disgraceful way in which the interests of the Church were lost sight of in the

¹ Cripps's *Laws of the Church and Clergy*, 666 sq.

² *Life of Bishop Porteus*, p. 42.

Legislature, than the condition in which curates were allowed to remain throughout the eighteenth century. Their stipends were assigned by the bishops, and it was absolutely illegal to fix them at a higher amount than £50.¹ This was a matter distinctly within the province of Parliament, as were also regulations as to pluralities and non-residence. But the bishops were too much of the fine gentleman to trouble their aristocratic friends with such matters, nor had they any inclination to anger the rich non-resident pluralist with interference with his "private property." Parliament, it may safely be said, had no particular desire to aid the Church when it struck off the disabilities of the Dissenters and Romanists. The majority of churchmen held this to be a distinct evil, although in reality it was a signal boon to the Church of England. From the days of Atterbury to those of Bishop Porteus the Church may be said to have been under an almost complete political obscurity. It had altogether ceased to be a power in the State as it was at the period of the Revolution and in the days of Queen Anne. Its leading clergy were occupied in wrangling controversies; its bishops were enjoying the pleasures of "polite society," or relieving the tedium of idle days by some learned study. Meantime the hard-working, obscure, and often miserably paid parish priests laboured on unnoticed and unregarded, "the salt which had not lost its savour," and which kept the Church alive for the growth of after years.

¹ Until the passing of an Act in the 36th year of George III., when the maximum was fixed at £75.—A. H. Hore, *The Church in England*, etc., ii. 228.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONTROVERSIAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH DURING THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1717-1795

1. Controversial bitterness. 2. The Bangorian controversy. 3. William Law and Bishop Hoadley. 4. The Anti-Subscription movement. 5. The Arian view. 6. Waterland's defence of orthodoxy. 7. His controversy with Dr. Sykes. 8. The Arian clergy. 9. The Deists. 10. Hoadley's "Plain Account." 11. Waterland on the Eucharist. 12. Joseph Butler. 13. The Analogy. 14. William Warburton. 15. George Berkeley. 16. The collapse of Deism. 17. David Hume's sceptical writings. 18. The Essay on miracles—Leland's answer. 19. Lord Bolingbroke's philosophical writings. 20. Character of the replies to the sceptics. 21. The Hutchinsonians. 22. William Jones of Nayland. 23. George Horne. 24. Gibbon's Anti-Christian chapters. 25. Joseph Priestley and Dr. Horsley. 26. Thomas Paine and Bishop Watson. 27. Gilbert Wakefield.

1. THE very small space occupied by the Church and its interests in the councils of the nation during the eighteenth century sufficiently indicates that there was not much care in the highest quarters for its progress. And unhappily the energies of those who might have pressed these matters upon those in power, with some probability of being heard, were diverted into another channel. This was the era of pamphlet-writing and controversies. Political animosities were joined with theological antipathies, and the result was internecine war. It must be confessed that such a condition of the clerical mind did not hold out much hope of any peaceable progress and improvement in Church matters. A prevalence of ferocious wrangling and unlimited contentiousness could have no good practical result, and while men of the world looked on and laughed the Church suffered a grievous injury and loss.

2. The "Representation" of the Lower House of the

Convocation of Canterbury "about the Bishop of Bangor's sermon of the kingdom of Christ," presented to the Upper House May 10, 1717,¹ was never considered or voted upon in that House, on account of the prorogation of Convocation which quickly followed its presentation. It was, however, almost immediately answered by Bishop Hoadley in a "Reply," which occupies no less than 130 folio pages in his works. In this document the bishop explains away or modifies some of the most offensive passages in his sermon, and exhibits considerable dexterity in selecting his positions. The "Reply" was answered by Dr. Thomas Sherlock, and Messrs. Cannon, Dawson, and Moore, all of whom had been members of the Convocation Committee. Many other writers soon joined in on both sides, and thus was launched what is usually designated the "Bangorian Controversy." This controversy is principally remarkable for the number of writers who took part in it. The publications due to it approached two hundred. Great bitterness and personal rancour disfigure most of them. Political antagonism added no little sharpness to the pens of both Latitudinarians and High Churchmen, but there is little of interest in its theological or literary aspects.

3. Perhaps the writer, who gained the most distinction in this controversy, was William Law, formerly a Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who had refused the oath to the new dynasty, and had lost his fellowship thereby. William Law, destined afterwards to enter upon a strange and eccentric career, was at this time an enthusiastic Churchman, and being furnished beyond most of his contemporaries with the weapons of a brilliant irony and keen incisive logic, he attacked Bishop Hoadley in a way that excited the greatest enthusiasm among Churchmen. His two first letters, written soon after the bishop's sermon was delivered, did not draw forth any notice from Hoadley; but when the Reply to the Representation of Convocation appeared, Law wrote a third letter which follows up the bishop with remorseless vigour. Hoadley still declined to answer, which is rather to be lamented, as he was almost unequalled as a controversialist, and the encounter would

¹ See Part II. p. 585.

have been remarkable. Law's able defence of Church principles raises him, as his biographer well observes, "to the very highest rank in controversial divinity,"¹ and it is much to be lamented that so able a champion should have been lost to the Church in the quicksands of mysticism. This, however, did not take place until he had done some more good service for the Church.

4. The pens of the Latitudinarian writers, once set in motion, did not limit themselves to the topics raised in the Bangorian controversy. All the main doctrines and formularies of the faith came in for attack. Without doubt many divines were induced to advocate Latitudinarian opinions by the hope of preferment; the favour shown to Hoadley, and the censures inflicted on his opponents,² indicating clearly enough in what channel preferment would now be directed. The great difficulty in the way of the Latitudinarians was the definite subscription to Articles and Liturgy with which the clergy were bound. Against this, therefore, violent assaults began now to be made. The Anti-Subscription party divided itself into two sections. The one maintained that subscription was a mere formality, objectionable indeed, but still not of sufficient importance to prevent the holding and advocating of "rational" opinions. It was better, therefore, instead of agitating for its removal, simply to ignore it. The other, feeling more strongly the obligations of honesty, desired the removal of all that hindered a minister of the Church advocating whatever doctrines he pleased to adopt. Dr. Samuel Clarke, Rector of St. James's, Westminster, may be regarded as the founder of that school which maintained that it was permissible to hold Arian opinions together with the subscription to Trinitarian formularies.³ He had published what he called "A Reformed Common Prayer Book"—that is to say, the Prayer Book of the Church of England with certain alterations made in it to favour Arian views; and in 1718 he published a collection of psalms and hymns in which the

¹ Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 19.

² All the royal chaplains who had written against Hoadley were at once removed.

³ See Part II. p. 583.

form of the doxology was altered to an Arian form.¹ Against this dangerous publication Dr. Robinson, bishop of London, issued a pastoral of solemn protest, in which he says—"I warn and charge it upon your souls, as you hope to obtain mercy from God the Father through the merits of Christ our Lord, and by the sanctification of the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, blessed for ever, that you employ your best endeavours to prevail with your several flocks to have a great abhorrence for the above-mentioned new forms; and particularly that you do not suffer the same to be used either in your churches or in any schools where you are able to prevent that most pernicious abuse."

5. The example set by Dr. Clarke was followed by many others of the clergy, and constituted a manifest danger for the Church. It was argued that the subscription of an Arian to Trinitarian articles was quite as justifiable as the subscription of an Arminian to Calvinist articles. "Writers of high name and reputation were found to incline towards that laxity of principle which, scarcely acknowledging the obligation of contending even for the most essential and fundamental articles of faith, seemed to encourage a general indifference to religious truth."² Dr. Clarke had argued that "every person may reasonably agree to forms imposed by Protestant communities whenever he can in any sense at all reconcile them with Scripture."³ And coincident with this professed contempt for forms and confessions was a violent attack upon the main doctrines of the Christian faith. There was

¹ So carelessly were Church matters managed at that time that many of these collections were printed quite unsuspectingly by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

² Van Mildert's *Life of Waterland*, p. 43.

³ Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, First Ed. This passage having given offence to some of Dr. Clarke's friends, was afterwards withdrawn. Mr. Whiston, in his *Life of Clarke*, says—"What will become of all oaths, promises, and securities among men if the plain real truth and meaning of words be no longer the measure of what we are to profess, assert, or practise; but every one may, if he do but openly declare it, put his own strained interpretation as he pleases upon them?"—*Life of Clarke*, p. 52.

no fear now of the censures of Convocation, or of prosecutions for blasphemy. Men were free to write as they pleased on the most sacred mysteries, and the more startling and heretical a book was the greater favour it commanded. Never, perhaps, was the Church of England in greater danger of being degraded into a mere philosophical sect than during the years which immediately followed the suspension of Convocation. From the dangers which threatened her the Church was mainly delivered by the action and labours of one man—Daniel Waterland.

6. Waterland, born at Walesby in Lincolnshire, and educated at the Grammar School, Lincoln, had early gained distinction at Cambridge, and had risen to the post of Master of Magdalene College. He became known to the world at large as a theologian by the publication in 1719 of a work on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, in which he combated the positions of Dr. Clarke.¹ It was, of course, a misfortune to the Church and a considerable mischief that any of her divines should go wrong on the fundamental doctrines of the faith. But it constituted a far greater danger and mischief, that it should be maintained and deliberately argued, that it was permissible for those who held doctrines opposed to her creeds and formularies still to hold office in the Church, so long as they could persuade themselves that it was possible to reconcile in any sense, however non-natural, these opinions and the Church doctrines. Arian subscription was a manifest and spreading evil, and against this Dr. Waterland directed his utmost energies. In 1721 he published his “Case of Arian subscription considered, and the several pleas and excuses for it particularly examined and confuted.” The immediate

¹ See Part II. p. 583. Dr. Clarke’s work had been answered by many writers — Dr. Wells, Mr. Nelson, Dr. James Knight, Bishop Gaskell, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Welchman, Mr. Edward Potter, Dr. Bennett, and Mr. Richard Mayo; and defended by Dr. Whitby, Dr. Sykes, and Mr. Jackson. It was against this latter writer that Dr. Waterland’s work was professedly directed, being entitled *A Vindication of Christ’s Divinity, being a Defence of certain Queries*, etc. These “Queries” had been issued anonymously by Waterland, and answered by Jackson under the title of *A Country Clergyman*.

occasion of the writing of this tract was the publication by an anonymous writer of some "Remarks" on the futility of tests in an Act of Parliament. The writer illustrates the uselessness of such tests from the fact that it is the "avowed principle of clergymen that they may lawfully subscribe forms in their own sense agreeably to what they call Scripture. This is proved not only in common conversation but in print, and from their constant practice of late years." Nothing was more liable to bring the Church and the clergy into utter contempt than such a practice as this; and great indeed was the service which Dr. Waterland did to the Church of England when, with extreme ability and great logical force, he exposed the untenableness of such a position.¹

7. Dr. Waterland's treatise was answered by Dr. Sykes in "The Case of Subscription to the thirty-nine Articles considered, occasioned by Dr. Waterland's Case of Arian Subscription." Dr. Sykes relies almost entirely on the *tu quoque* argument, contending that the differences between Arians and Trinitarians were not greater than those between Calvinists and Arminians. This specious but really absurd contention drew forth from Dr. Waterland "A Supplement to the Case of Arian Subscription considered." His argument, says his biographer, "is executed with admirable spirit and vivacity, as well as with sound and solid judgment. Nothing can be more satisfactory than his vindication of our Church against those who insist that her articles will admit of no other construction, or were intended to admit of no other than such as favours the abettors of Calvinism. The argument therefore in favour of Arian subscription grounded on this pretext is shown to be utterly untenable, and the attempt at recrimination resulting from it evasive and futile."² Dr. Sykes published a Reply to Dr. Waterland's supplement, but this does not appear to have satisfied even his own friends.

8. Indeed the defenders of Arian subscription were being pressed as hardly on the side of the Dissenters as on that of the Church, and were freely taunted with dishonesty. "A writer in an address to the conforming

¹ See Van Mildert's *Life of Waterland*, i. 78.

² *Ib.* i. 86.

Arians, both amongst the clergy and laity, accuses them of the vilest hypocrisy, in being present at the hearing of prayers and creeds which they professed not to believe; and absolutely insists upon it as their indispensable duty to separate from the Church. And he by no means admits their salvo, viz. their not repeating those passages or prayers in the Liturgy which in their opinion are blasphemous, and derogatory to the supreme unequalled majesty of God the Father.”¹ And yet there were many clergy who did not scruple to adopt this utterly unjustifiable expedient. Mr. Whiston, an eccentric Cambridge professor, but who was without a church, satisfied himself for some time by sitting down during the recital of the Athanasian Creed, and generally demonstrating by his manner against orthodox formularies. Finally, however, he became dissatisfied with such paltry proceedings, and quitted the Church. The “learned critic,” Mr. Wasse, Rector of Aynho, Bucks, omitted the Athanasian Creed, the petitions in the Litany, and the doxology, and thus satisfied his conscience. Dr. Chambers, Rector of Achurch, acted in a similar way; ² while many more probably did not trouble themselves to omit anything, as they did not believe anything. Later on in this century many clergymen took the more honest part of resigning their preferment, when unable any longer to accept the teaching of the Church on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Of these we find mentioned in Mr. Lindsey’s volume—Mr. Evanson, Rector of Tewkesbury; Mr. Maty, Chaplain to the Embassy at Paris; Mr. Hales of St. John’s College, Cambridge; Mr. Harries, Rector of Harwood; Dr. Disney, Rector of Swin-derby, Dr. Jebb, and Mr. Lindsey himself. It was long, however, before the Latitudinarian position was seen to be untenable consistently with the most ordinary principles of honesty.

9. The opposition to established forms and settled opinions took various directions. Anthony Collins, undeterred by the severe castigation which his *Discourse of Free Thinking* had received from Dr. Bentley and Dr. Swift,

¹ Lindsey’s *Hist. of Unitarian Doctrine*, p. 468.

² *Ib.* 487, sq.

published in 1724 *A Discourse on the Grounds of the Christian Religion*, in which he endeavours to disparage Christianity by styling it a "mystical Judaism," based upon a false interpretation of prophecy, disowned by the Jews themselves. This was answered, among other writers, by Dr. Chandler, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Mr. Woolston, a Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, after publishing several works of more or less questionable orthodoxy, began in 1727 a series of "Discourses" on the miracles of Christ, in which he either asserts the record of them to be false, or so disparages and ridicules them as to endeavour to show them to be worthless. The very objectionable character of his writing involved Mr. Woolston in a prosecution for blasphemy, and he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment. His book gave occasion to the publication of a work which had a considerable reputation in its day, *The Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus*, by Dr. Thomas Sherlock. Soon afterwards the attack on Christianity brought out a more able writer to take part in it, Matthew Tindal, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford. His book, *Christianity as old as the Creation*, is thought by many to be the ablest deistical work of that period. Avoiding the coarseness of Woolston, and writing in a polished style, the author endeavoured to show that all external revelation is "absolutely needless and useless ; that the original law and religion of nature is so perfect that nothing can possibly be added to it by any external revelation whatsoever."¹ William Law endeavoured to answer this book by an elaborate disparagement of reason. Dr. Waterland answered it perhaps more happily in his *Scripture Vindicated*. A host of other writers also replied to it.

10. Deistical writings, however, were perhaps not so likely to injure the cause of Christianity as the elaborate "writing down," of its mysterious character which was affected by Hoadley and the Latitudinarian school. The most mischievous book of this sort was a work published in 1733 anonymously, called *A plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*. This was known to be the work of Bishop Hoadley, though the

¹ Leland's *View of Deistical Writers*, i. 113.

author never acknowledged it. It is described by Hoadley's editor as being "unfavourable to the commonly received opinions of its [the Lord's Supper] peculiar efficacies and benefits." In fact, it makes the Lord's Supper a mere memorial rite of no special value. A very large number of writers at once assailed this mischievous work. Among them "the predominant feeling was unquestionably one of deep indignation that so unworthy a view of the highest act of Christian worship could be even suspected of having come from the pen of a Christian prelate."¹ Mr. Law answered the treatise with great power and success, but the most considerable work which it drew forth (or rather was partly the cause of drawing forth) proceeded from Dr. Waterland under the name of the *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*.

11. Dr. Waterland's review was directed not entirely against the Latitudinarian school of Hoadley, but also, and in perhaps a greater degree, against the views advocated by the nonjuring school of divines, which had been set forth with great learning by Mr. Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrook, in his *Unbloody Sacrifice*. Much of the language used by this school of writers seemed to imply a corporal presence in the Eucharist, or a "supposed necessity of material sacrifices analogous to that of the Jewish ritual." Waterland's endeavour was to set forth the true doctrine of the Church of England between their views on the one hand and Hoadley's Sacramentary views on the other. His treatise is perhaps the most valuable contribution that he ever made to the theology of the English Church—"a work of established reputation both here and abroad, for which he had been collecting materials during a considerable portion of his life."²

¹ Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 81. Mr. Overton gives the titles of twenty-one answers.

² Van Mildert's *Life of Waterland*, i. 218. The late learned Archdeacon Churton in his preface to some letters of Waterland published by him, endeavours to show that Waterland's treatise was not written specially either against Hoadley (because he does not mention him) or against Brett and Johnson, because their opinions were published some years before. Hoadley could not have been fairly mentioned by

12. The Church of England at this period is often described as intellectually feeble, and greatly inferior in literary power to the Church of the Caroline period. It is, however, remarkable that the earlier part of the eighteenth century should have produced almost the greatest practical writer, quite the most complete theologian, and the deepest moral and metaphysical philosopher that her history can show. By far the most effective opponent of the anti-Christian and deistical school was the great author of the *Analogy*. Joseph Butler, so remarkable for the solidity, depth, and power of his philosophical writings, was born of a dissenting family, at Wantage, in 1692. While yet at school, he gave an extraordinary proof of precocious powers by carrying on anonymously a controversy with Dr. Samuel Clarke on the *a priori* argument as to the being and attributes of God. Having carefully examined the arguments put forward for non-conformity, the young student was dissatisfied with them, and resolved, with his father's consent, to go to Oxford. At Oriel College, he formed a friendship with Mr. Edward Talbot, son of the Bishop of Durham, and by his influence was made preacher at the Rolls when only twenty-six years of age. In 1726 he published *Fifteen Sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel*, which contain the setting forth of some of Butler's distinctive and most famous doctrines. At a time when the School of Law, the Mystics and the Moravians were saying such hard things of human nature, this great thinker came forward to show what is the real character of the nature of man—"that virtue consists in following, and vice in deviating from it;" and, "from considering the relations which the several appetites and passions in the inward frame have to each other, and above all, the supremacy of reflection or conscience," to give the true idea of the "system or constitution of human nature."¹

Waterland as the treatise was anonymous, and if Brett and Johnson wrote some years previously, yet their opinions survived, and had numerous advocates. Waterland, as is stated by Van Mildert, had been collecting materials for this treatise "during a considerable portion of his life," which accounts for his delay in answering the non-jurors.

¹ Preface to Second Edition of *Sermons*.

13. Before these sermons were published Butler had been promoted by the influence of the Talbots to the living of Stanhope, nearly the richest benefice in England. Here he resided seven years, and during that time composed his famous treatise, *The Analogy of Religion natural and revealed to the constitution and course of nature*. Through the influence of Dr. Secker, Butler was brought to Court and became Clerk of the Closet to Queen Caroline, who appreciated his metaphysical powers. In 1736 he presented to her his famous work, the most complete refutation of the shallow arguments in favour of the "Religion of Nature" as against Christianity. After the Queen's death, the King, mindful of her regard for Butler, promoted him to the See of Bristol and the Deanery of St. Paul's (1737), still higher preferment being in store for him. Of his work at Durham, and the commotion excited by it, mention will be made in a following chapter.¹

14. Another vigorous opponent of deistical views was William Warburton, subsequently Bishop of Gloucester. Warburton began life in an attorney's office, but being eagerly bent on learned studies, he obtained admission to Holy Orders, and gaining the favour of Sir Robert Sutton by a flattering preface to a pamphlet, was presented by him to the living of Brant Broughton, in Lincolnshire. Here he devoted himself to working out a new and original argument against the deists and freethinkers, which is said to have been suggested by a work by Dr. Morgan, called the *Moral Philosopher*. In this the writer had argued that the fact of there being no mention of a future state in the writings of Moses, proved that his mission was not divine. Warburton determined to take the same premisses and to work out an entirely opposite conclusion. The first volume of his work appeared in 1731. It was entitled *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated on the Principles of a religious Deist*, and its argument is thus stated by its author: "Whatsoever religion and society have no future state for their support must be supported by an extraordinary Providence. The Jewish religion and society had no future state for their

¹ See Chap. V.

support, therefore the Jewish religion and society were supported by an extraordinary Providence." The argument was too cumbrous and too paradoxical to have much effect. The treatise exhibited a vast amount of abstract and ill-digested learning, and it had the effect of involving the writer in bitter controversy for the rest of his life.

15. A much more popular assailant of the deists and sceptics was George Berkeley, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who, having made a gallant attempt to spread Christianity among the American Indians, and being obliged to abandon this scheme,¹ devoted himself to combating the heathens at home, and in his *Dialogues of Alciphron*, or *The Minute Philosopher* made some good points against them. But *Dialogues*, in which the same writer provides the speeches for both the interlocutors, and therefore can select the arguments which he desires to disprove, cannot have much convincing power, and though many probably rejoiced in the sprightly elegance of "Alciphron," few perhaps were converted by it.

16. About the middle of the eighteenth century the deistical controversy completely collapsed.² When John Leland, one of the ablest writers against the deists, published in 1754 his *View of Deistical Writers*, he had to give an account of writings that were already almost forgotten. The explanation of this is obvious. The deists not only endeavoured to overthrow Christianity, but they also endeavoured to *construct* a religion of nature. They invited men not so much to discard religion as to change one religion for another; and the religion which they offered them was in the last degree shadowy, indefinite, and unreal. Now those who doubted about Christianity, or were desirous to be freed from religious restraints, were little likely to adopt, save as a temporary halting-place, a religion which, though shadowy, still affected to put forward some restraints and prohibitions. The sceptics passed on to atheism, and deism or "the religion of nature" was left behind. The latter part of the century witnessed the conflict between the Christian and the

¹ See Chap. IX.

² See *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 235.

purely infidel writers. The influence of English deism passed over into France, where the consequences produced by it are sufficiently well known.

17. The collapse of deism may have been partly due to the weighty treatises which had been directed against it; but it is probably to be more fully accounted for by the growth of scepticism and the dissatisfaction felt by many with every form of positive religion. It was succeeded by direct and unqualified unbelief, which was merely destructive, and aimed at overthrowing all creeds without substituting anything in their place. The first and perhaps the most talented of the writers who advocated these views was David Hume, a Scotchman, who in 1750 published in London his *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*. These essays "strike at the foundation of natural as well as the proofs and evidences of revealed religion." They deny the connection between cause and effect; maintain that no amount of experience can justify us in assuming that the same effects will always follow from the same causes. They also insist strongly on what appears to be contradictory to this, namely, that there is no such thing as contingency in the universe. "But," it is argued, "if there be no causal influence, but only a mere conjunction of events, there is neither force, power, nor energy in nature. All events are loose, separate, and unconnected, and only follow one another without connection, and there can be no continued chain of necessary causes at all."¹ It is evident that the two parts of Mr. Hume's system do not agree together, and that to deny causation and to suppose necessity is an irreconcilable theory. But the object for which the writer advocated these conflicting views is apparent. By the first he endeavoured to meet the argument from probability. By the second the doctrine of the providential government of the world.

18. The tenth of the *Philosophical Essays* contains Mr. Hume's famous argument against miracles, which has often been said to be unanswerable, but which in reality has been again and again shown to be utterly

¹ Leland's *View of Deistical Writers*, i. 269.

fallacious. This has perhaps never been better done than by the Presbyterian writer, John Leland, who in 1754 published his *View of Deistical Writers*. Mr. Hume laid down two propositions which he proclaimed to be indestructible. First, that a miracle was of the nature of things which could not be proved by any evidence however strong; and secondly, that, supposing a miracle capable of being proved by full and sufficient evidence, yet that there was no miracle which had this full and sufficient evidence in support of it. The second proposition, as Leland points out, is altogether superfluous if the first can be established, and the whole matter must turn on the truth or falsehood of the first. To establish the first proposition Mr. Hume depends upon establishing the truth of the proposition, "Whatsoever is contrary to experience cannot be established by any testimony." But here we come at once upon an equivocal term. What is *experience*? "What are we to understand by that experience which he makes to be our only guide in reasoning concerning miracles? Is it our own particular personal experience, or the experience of others? and if of others, is it of some others, or of all mankind?" In this case we have no way of knowing experience but by *testimony*. Testimony therefore must be used to form the argument against miracles, but it is not allowed to establish miracles! But no experience or testimony can ever establish a universal negative. "Experience, or the observation of similar events known to ourselves or others, may assure us that facts or events are possible, but not that the contrary is impossible." Mr. Hume had himself argued in his earlier essays that no amount of experience could make us certainly conclude that an effect will follow from a cause. On the same ground it may be asserted that no amount of experience would make us certainly conclude that an effect will *not* follow from a cause. "The most uniform experience is sometimes outweighed by a single testimony; because experience in this case is only negative evidence, and the slightest positive testimony is for the most part an over-balance to the strongest negative evidence that can be produced."¹ Having disposed of Mr.

¹ Leland, i. 291.

Hume's great *a priori* argument, Leland proceeds to examine his second proposition—That there never has been a miracle established by full and sufficient evidence. The answer to this is simply the proof of the credibility of the gospel history, and here Leland is taken over the same ground traversed by Sherlock, Paley, and all the writers upon the evidences. None of these writers have stated the arguments more simply and clearly than this divine. He is then led, in addition to the examination of the Christian evidences, to pass in review these other alleged miracles which, Mr. Hume had asserted, stood on precisely the same footing as regards evidence with the Christian miracles. In this he makes free use of the essay of Mr. Adams who had specially examined the evidence for the alleged Jansenist miracles at Paris, and also makes favourable mention of an essay by Mr. Douglas in answer to Hume. This advocacy of pure scepticism was more attractive to loose thinkers than the attempt to construct a religion of deism, and there are abundant evidences that at this period infidelity was greatly on the increase.

19. An additional impulse to the sceptical and mocking spirit, then becoming so prevalent, was furnished by the publication in 1754 of the posthumous works of Lord Bolingbroke. This nobleman had enjoyed a great reputation for talent during his lifetime, and his *Letters on the Use and Study of History* had prepared the world for a very free treatment of Christianity by him. But probably none were altogether prepared for "the extreme insolence, the virulence, and contempt with which he treated those things hitherto accounted most sacred among Christians."¹ Bolingbroke attacked the credibility of the Gospel history, the character and theology of St. Paul, and even of our Lord himself. He attacks philosophy equally with religion, throws doubts upon everything, even upon the existence of a future state and an immaterial soul. There is no construction in his writings, simply random and furious blows at everything believed among men. "He rejects every opinion the holding of which would embarrass a sceptic arguing with a Christian."² It is incorrect, therefore, to

¹ Leland, i. 372.

² See *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 212.

class Bolingbroke with the deists. He belongs to the pure sceptical and infidel school. Bishop Warburton, being specially attacked in these writings, wrote a critique upon them in *A view of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy in Four Letters to a Friend*, with an "Apology" prefixed, a work which, in the opinion of Bishop Hurd, his biographer, deserved high praise. "The occasion of the subject fired the writer. His whole soul came out in every sentence. The Apology is written with a peculiar glow of sentiment and expression, and is at once the most interesting and most masterly of all his works."¹ A valuable criticism on Lord Bolingbroke will also be found in Leland.

20. It is doubtful, however, whether such writings as Warburton's *Reply to Bolingbroke*, and many others which about this time were set forth by the apologists of Christianity, did not in reality do more harm than good. While they disputed about the evidences and argued keenly for the genuineness and authenticity of the sacred books, they seemed altogether to forget their sacred character, and by endeavouring to make the statements of Christian doctrines as "reasonable" as possible, they often committed themselves to low and inadequate statements, and to arguments and phraseology altogether unbecoming the subject. The very title of such a book as Bishop Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses of Christ's Resurrection* was a slur upon Christianity, and the favourite title of "Apology" seemed to suggest the idea of a cause that needed to come humbly suing for tolerance and forbearance. In Warburton's days there was altogether too much of a notion, that the Holy Scriptures were a subject matter on which the man, who had taken divinity for his profession, was to write polite and learned disquisitions; but there was but little attempt to treat them as the spiritual food of the soul, and the guides and directors to the higher life. It was this unworthy treatment of Scripture, this losing sight of its life and power in attention to the letter, which gave life and vigour to what was known as the Hutchinsonian school, out of which some of the best defenders of Christianity at this time sprang.

21. The original Hutchinsonians were committed to

¹ Hurd's *Life of Warburton*, p. 37.

an opposition to the Newtonian philosophy on the ground of its being unscriptural, and thus were necessarily doomed to the ridicule of the physicists. They were also involved in some singular theories as to Hebrew roots and the archetypal character of the Hebrew language. But, in spite of their eccentricities, their profound reverence for Scripture attracted many in preference to the combative attitude of the Warburtonians, and in especial it attracted two young men who did work of remarkable value for the Church of their day. These were William Jones, generally known as Jones of Nayland, from the name of his last benefice, and George Horne, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. Neither of these writers adopted all the peculiarities of the Hutchinsonian school, though both of them acknowledge their obligations to it, especially as inculcating reverence towards the Holy Scriptures. "For myself," writes Mr. Jones, "I may say (as I do in great humility), that by following them through the course of a long life, I have found myself much assisted in evidence and argument, and never corrupted, as I hope my writings, if they should last, will bear me witness."¹ Mr. Horne protests against the attempt to throw discredit upon him by a nickname. "Is it not hard measure," he writes, "that when a clergyman only preaches the doctrines and enforces the duty of Christianity from the Scriptures, his character shall be blasted and himself rendered odious by the force of a name, which in such cases always signifies what the imposers please to mean and the people to hate. There are many names of this kind now in vogue. If a man preaches Christ that he is the end of the law and the fulness of the Gospel, 'You need not mind him; he is a Hutchinsonian.' If he mentions the assistance and direction of the Holy Spirit with the necessity of prayer, mortification and the taking up the cross, 'He is a Methodist.' If he talks of the divine right of episcopacy, with a word concerning the danger of schism, 'Just going over to Popery.'"²

22. The writers of the Scriptural school had a variety of prejudices to contend against, but they nevertheless suc-

¹ Jones, Preface to *Life of Bishop Horne*.

² Bishop Horne's *Works*, vi. 108.

ceeded in a great measure in overcoming them. The first work of Mr. Jones's was an answer to Bishop Clayton's "Essay on Spirit," and though the composition of a very young man, is written with singular clearness and vigour, displaying a full acquaintance with Scripture and no mean powers of argument. Bishop Horsley's criticism on Mr. Jones's writings, "He had beyond any man that I knew the talent of writing upon the deepest subjects to the plainest understanding," is eminently justified. The concluding sentences of this able work strike a deep note. "The question is not whether a Trinity was believed by Hoadley, Clarke, or Clayton, but whether it is revealed in Holy Scripture, not a syllable of which will be invalidated by the disbelief of the whole world. Our Arians will do well to consider not how they may put a face on their cause in the sight of men, by misrepresenting the Scriptures, depreciating the primitive fathers and martyrs, applauding to the skies every deistical scribbler, scoffing at uniformity, railing at orthodoxy, and publishing all manner of scandal against the Church and the friends of it, but how all their pretended reformations will appear in the sight of God, before whom they must either maintain them as they do now, or take the consequences, for it will be too late then to retract."¹ This work was soon followed by the *Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity*. "This," says Mr. Jones's biographer, "he had kept in his thoughts for some years, and had paid particular attention to it as often as the Scriptures were before him. It is an invaluable work, and admirably calculated to stop the mouths of gainsayers, which compareth spiritual things with spiritual, and maketh Scripture its own interpreter. To the third edition in 1767 was added "A Letter to the common people in answer to some popular arguments against the Trinity." Than this letter there is scarcely anything better in our language as a plain and telling dissuasive from the errors of Socinianism. Mr. Jones wrote several other valuable treatises in defence of Church doctrine. We shall have to recur to him again in connection with practical work.

23. Of a similar spirit to his friend was George Horne,

¹ Jones's answer to Essay on Spirit, *Works*, vol. i.

Fellow and afterwards President of Magdalen College, Oxford. Dr. Kennicott, the Hebrew professor, having attacked the philological vagaries of the Hutchinsonians, Horne undertook to defend them in an Apology, which, though it may not make out a good case for their philology, says some things very well in defence of their value of Scripture. He defends the Scriptural school from the charge of undervaluing morality. But he adds, "One thing we do affirm because we can prove it from Scripture, that whoever preaches and enforces moral duties, without justification and sanctification preceding, may as well declaim upon the advantages of walking to a man that can neither stir hand nor foot; such is the natural impotence of the soul to do any good thing till it is justified and sanctified." "As to the objection," he writes, "of our preaching Christ as the substance of all the legal shadows, and explaining the spiritual sense of all the natural images of Scripture, with the Warburtonian cant so much in vogue of cabalistic theologues, typists, allegorists, etc., those who read the Bible want no answer, and none will satisfy those who do not." Horne was opposed, as was also his friend Jones, to the illustration of Scripture from profane sources, heathen mythologies, and fables. He disliked Dr. Shuckford's *Connection of Sacred and Profane History*, which, as Mr. Jones observes, certainly made the Mosaic account as ridiculous in simplicity as Dr. Middleton did in malice. Horne was led to make a direct attack upon infidelity by the publication by Dr. Adam Smith of the *Life of David Hume*. He wrote a "Letter to Dr. Adam Smith," in which he exposes Hume's sentiments with much wit and irony. In some parts of the "Letter" the writer rises into passages of great eloquence. "You talk much, sir, of our philosopher's gentleness of manners, good nature, compassion, generosity, charity. Alas! sir, whither were they all fled when he so often sat down calmly and deliberately to obliterate from the breasts of the human species every trace of the knowledge of God and His dispensations, all faith in His kind providence and fatherly protection, all hope of enjoying His grace and favour here or hereafter, all love of Him and of their brethren for His sake, all the patience under tribu-

lation, all the comforts in time of sorrow derived from these fruitful and perennial sources? Did a good man think himself able by the force of metaphysic incantation in a moment to blot the sun out of heaven, and dry up every fountain upon earth, would he attempt to do it?"¹

24. The Scriptural writings of Jones and Horne availed, doubtless, to steady many that were wavering in the faith, and to comfort believers, but their effects did not reach to men of the world, nor was the mass of the society influenced by them. The growth of infidelity in France, the beginnings of which were in great measure due to the English deists, encouraged and stimulated scepticism in England. Probably the wild enthusiasm of the Methodists contributed towards the same end. Perhaps a more dangerous blow has scarce ever been aimed at Christianity than by the publication in 1776 of the first volume of Gibbon's great work on the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. This contained, in chapters xv. and xvi., that sarcastic and elaborate review of Christianity, which, in attempting to account for its spread simply on ordinary grounds, appeared to invalidate its divine character, and assigned it a place as merely one of the transient phases of human thought and enthusiasm. The learning and skill of the writer, the polish of his style, the high reputation which he at once obtained, caused this attack by a side-wind to be full of peril for the cause of truth. Gibbon's anti-Christian chapters were answered by Dr. Watson, the Regius Professor at Cambridge, in a series of letters. These were written very hastily, and do not perhaps take sufficiently high ground, but they were clever and taking to the unlearned reader, and did good service in their day.

25. The next important attack upon Christianity came from a different quarter, but was somewhat of the same character, being historical rather than theological. Joseph Priestley, a Unitarian minister who had gained a high reputation for scientific works, published, in 1782, a *History of the Corruption of Christianity*, and, in 1786, a *History of the Early Opinions Concerning Jesus Christ* (4 vols.) In these works he endeavoured to establish "That the doctrine of

¹ Horne's *Works*, vi. 559.

the Trinity as it is now maintained is no older than the Nicene Council. That it is the result of a gradual corruption of the doctrine of the Gospel, which took its rise in opinions first advanced in the second century by certain converts of the Platonic school. That before these innovations the faith of the Church was strictly Unitarian. The immediate disciples of the apostles believed our Saviour to be a mere man. The next generation worshipped him indeed, but only as a highly exalted creature. The Platonisers invented the doctrine of the Trinity."¹ To maintain these statements in the face of Bishop Bull's great works on the "Nicene Creed," and the "Primitive and Apostolical Tradition," was a bold undertaking. Bolder still, if it be considered that Priestley's acquaintance with early Christian writings was very superficial, and that he had not even read Bishop Bull's works. An answer was at once given to Priestley's main positions by Dr. Horsley, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, and a controversy was for some time carried on between the disputants in a series of letters. Horsley was one of the most able controversialists and clear and vigorous writers which the eighteenth century produced. He is generally thought to have demolished Priestley's arguments, while that writer's influence altogether fell before the reactionary fury caused by the excesses of the French Revolution.

26. Only one more considerable attack upon Christianity in this century need be mentioned. But this was the most dangerous of all, because it reached a stratum of society less able to think and reason, and more liable to be imposed upon by bold and confident assertion. It proceeded from Thomas Paine, once an English exciseman, then an American citizen, and finally a prominent figure among the wild actors in the French Revolution. In 1790 this man published in London an answer to Mr. Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, under the title of the *Rights of Man*. The book was prosecuted, but this, of course, only further recommended Paine to the French people. He was chosen a member of the Convention, thrown into prison by Robespierre, then escaping, published in London, in 1794, his

¹ Horsley's *Charge to the Clergy of St. Alban's*, p. 6.

Age of Reason. This was one of the most blasphemous and mischievous books which ever issued from the English press. It was addressed to the multitude, and well suited to mislead the ignorant and untaught. It loaded the Holy Scriptures with scurrilous abuse, and in a manner so adapted to please the vulgar taste that a torrent of irreligion was excited by it. Watson, now a bishop, again came forward with an "Apology," which, being simply and clearly written, did very valuable service, and was circulated in great quantities by those who were anxious to check the advance of the pestilent opinions. A higher class of readers was reached by the publication by Dr. Paley of his *Evidences of Christianity*, a work which has deservedly maintained its reputation ever since. An effective writer against the infidel school, from a different point of view, was also Gilbert Wakefield.

27. Wakefield, a man of great learning and indefatigable industry, was, nevertheless, from the peculiarity of his temperament, an opponent of almost every one in his turn, and is a good representative of a class of writers of which Middleton, Whiston, Sykes, and others, were members, and who, by their cold and clever destructive criticisms, were some of the chief obstacles to the advance of religion in the eighteenth century. A Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and in orders in the Church, he soon began to write against the Church, and became tutor in various dissenting academies. The number of his critical and philological works is immense. His controversial works also reach a large amount, many of them being directed against Dr. Horsley and Dr. Watson. He attacked, however, with equal vigour the opponents of Christianity as well as its defenders, and probably in his incisive criticisms on Paine's *Age of Reason* he did good service to the cause of truth. Wakefield found his way into prison through a violent attack upon the French war policy, but a very large subscription was raised for him by the politicians whose views he supported. He was bitterly opposed to the Methodists, and it would be difficult to decide to what section of Christianity to assign this free lance, who made war in succession upon almost all forms of religion.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH FOREIGN CHURCHES—THE LATER
NONJURORS

1717-1805

1. Negotiations with other Churches. 2. French divines desire union with the English Church. 3. Archbishop Wake responds. 4. The Commonitorium on the English Articles. 5. Hesitation of the archbishop. 6. He makes severance from Rome a condition. 7. Negotiations stopped by the French authorities. 8. The earlier nonjurors. 9. The return of some to the Church. 10. The nonjuring bishops. 11. The Schism of the "Usages." 12. The negotiations with the Eastern Church. 13. The points of agreement and difference. 14. The defence of the differences. 15. Failure of the negotiations. 16. Internal disputes. 17. Mischief arising from separation.

1. IN the earlier part of the period with which we are now concerned, negotiations of the greatest interest had been going on between some of the members of the English Church and other Churches with which that Church was not in communion. Of these, the first to be mentioned offered at one time great hopes of a successful issue. It was conducted by Archbishop Wake, a prelate much to be respected for his learning and moderation; and, on the other side, by certain doctors of the Sorbonne—the theological faculty of France—who were of high reputation and influence, and who also possessed moderate and enlightened views.

2. It had been the traditionary policy of the Gallican Church to soften and explain the more startling doctrines of the Romish Church, in order thereby to attract the Protestants to conversion. Gallicanism was in fact a modified form of Romanism, and with many of the clergy the Jansenist doctrines, which approached Calvinism, were

popular. Against this prevailing laxity the Jesuits vigorously intrigued. With them the acceptance of the most grotesque and irrational creed was a *sine quâ non*, whereas for moral obliquities they could find a thousand convenient excuses. In the year 1713 the Jesuits were able to induce the Pope, Clement XI., to issue a Bull, known as the Bull *Unigenitus*, which condemned the Jansenist doctrines and all Gallican modifications, and re-affirmed the Papal doctrines with the utmost strictness and bitterness. It was, in fact, a condemnation of the Gallican Church, and the French divines were grievously vexed by it. During the troubled counsels which ensued, Mr. Beauvoir, the English chaplain in Paris, happened to be dining in company with the learned Dr. Du Pin and some other of the doctors of the Sorbonne. The divines were agreed that they must appeal to a future general council, and Du Pin, turning to Mr. Beauvoir, said he greatly desired a union with the Church of England "as the most effectual means to unite all the Western Churches." He desired the chaplain also to give his duty to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

3. The archbishop, in reply to Dr. Du Pin's polite words, requested Mr. Beauvoir to make his compliments to him, as one "by whose labours he had profited for many years," and to express his desire to serve him in any way he could. The doctor answered by a letter of thanks, and concluded by saying, "One thing I will add, with your kind permission, viz. that I earnestly desire that some way might be found of initiating a union between the Anglican and Gallican Churches. We are not so very far separated from one another in most things as to preclude the possibility of our being mutually reconciled. Would that all Christians were one fold." The archbishop replied in a letter,¹ in which he enlarges upon the purity of the Church of England, in faith, worship, government, and discipline. "There are few things in it which even you would desire to see changed," he writes. "There is nothing to mark us with the black mark of heresy." He then exhorts the doctor to go forward boldly in the opposition to the Papal yoke, and says, "Perhaps this may be the beginning of a

¹ Feb. 24, 1718.

new Reformation, in which not only the best Protestants, but also a great part of the Roman Church may agree."

4. At this juncture M. Piers de Girardin delivered, before the Sorbonne faculty, a singular oration, in which he said that the quarrel between the Gallican and Roman Churches might possibly induce the English to return into the bosom of the Catholic Church on the same footing that the Gallican Church had taken up. These expressions led Dr. Du Pin to show the archbishop's letter to Girardin and also to Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris. Girardin now wrote to Wake, and the archbishop replied both to him and to Du Pin. In these letters he spoke of distinguishing *Fundamentals* from less important matters, and the doctors of the Sorbonne began to formulate a plan with a view to union, showing what was necessary and what was of lesser obligation. The plan, called *Commonitorium*, or a Comment on the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, was actually read in the Sorbonne, approved, and forwarded to Archbishop Wake.¹

5. The archbishop now became somewhat alarmed. Things were proceeding more swiftly than he intended. He was afraid lest he might compromise the Church of England by committing her to union with a Church which still preserved its subordination to Rome. On August 30 (1718) he writes to Mr. Beauvoir: "My task is pretty hard, and I scarce know how to manage in this matter. To go any further than I have done, even as a divine of the Church of England, may meet with censure, and, as Archbishop of Canterbury, I cannot treat with these gentlemen. This would only expose me to the censure of doing what, in my station, ought not to be done without the King's knowledge, and it would be very odd for me to have

¹ This plan, which is of great interest as showing how far liberal Roman Catholics were disposed to go towards an agreement with Anglicans, greatly resembles in tone the comment made by George Cassander on the Confession of Augsburg. The substance of it, taken from Maclaine's Appendix to *Mosheim*, will be found in Notes and Illustrations to this chapter.

an authoritative permission to treat with those, who have no manner of authority to treat with me. I cannot tell what to say to Dr. Du Pin. If he thinks we are to take their direction, what to retain and what to give up, he is utterly mistaken. I am a friend to peace, but more to truth. And they may depend upon it I shall always account our Church to stand upon an equal foot with theirs; and that we are no more to receive laws from them, than to impose any on them. In short, the Church of England is free, is orthodox. She has a plenary authority within herself, and has no need to recur to any other Church to direct her what to retain and what to do. If they mean to deal with us, they must lay down this for the foundation—that we are to deal with one another on equal terms.¹

6. With these sentiments Archbishop Wake wrote to Dr. Du Pin and Girardin two letters, as to which he writes to Mr. Beauvoir: "I have described the method of making bishops in our Church. I believe he (Du Pin) will be equally surprised and pleased with it."² I wish you could show him the form of consecration as it stands in your large Common Prayer Book. The rest of my letters both to him and Dr. Piers (Girardin) is a venture which I know not how they will take, to convince them of the necessity of breaking off from the Pope, and going one step further than they have yet done in their opinion of his authority, so as to leave him merely a primacy of place and honour, and that merely by ecclesiastical authority, as he was once bishop of the Imperial city." These letters, written with an elegance of Latin style, and with a force of expression which did honour to the English Church, were much admired both by the doctors addressed and by some others

¹ Appendix to Maclaine's *Translation of Mosheim's Church History*.

² It is certain that whatever effect this letter had upon Dr. Du Pin it was not without important consequences to the English Church. For it first stirred up the Abbé Courayer, who was assisting the Sorbonne doctors, to inquire into the subject of Anglican orders, and put him in communication with Wake, who became his fast friend and correspondent. This was the origin of the Abbé's famous defence of the Anglican orders.

to whom they were shown. The archbishop was not without hope that they might have some effect. He writes to Mr. Beauvoir: "If we could once divide the Gallican Church from the Roman, a reformation in other matters would follow as a matter of course. The scheme that seems to me most likely to prevail is to agree in the independence (as to all matters of authority) of every national Church on any others, and in their right to determine all matters that arise within themselves; and, for points of doctrine, to agree as far as possible in all articles of any moment (as in effect we already do, or easily may); and, for other matters, to allow a difference till God shall bring us to a union in these also. One only they should be provided for, to purge out of the public offices of the Church such things as hinder a perfect communion in the service of the Church, that so whenever any come from us to them or from them to us we may all join together in prayers and the holy sacraments with each other. . . . Such a scheme as this I take to be a more proper ground of peace at the beginning than to go to more particulars."¹

7. This very wise and reasonable basis for concord might possibly have produced some fruit had not, unfortunately, the strong hand of power intervened. France was then governed by an infamous profligate, whose chief minister was, if possible, even more infamous. These were apt instruments for the Jesuits to work upon, and the correspondence with Wake having been discovered by them, they had little difficulty in inducing the Abbé Dubois to curry favour with Rome by peremptorily forbidding the continuance of the correspondence, and threatening Dr. Girardin with the Bastille. The Gallican Church has always been marked by feebleness and irresolution. "All ends in trifling at the last," as Wake truly wrote. "We honestly deny the Pope all authority over us. They pretend, in words, to allow him so much as is consistent with what they call their Gallican privileges, but let him never so little use it contrary to their good liking; they protest against it, appeal to a general council, and then mind him as little as we can do. To own a power, and yet to

¹ Appendix to Maclaine's *Translation of Mosheim's Church History*.

keep a reserve to obey that power only so far and in such cases as we make ourselves judges of, is a greater affront than honestly to confess that we deny the power, and for that reason refuse to obey it." The negotiation, though a failure, had nevertheless been in many ways valuable. It had drawn forth a very interesting comment upon our doctrinal Confession, which may range side by side with that of George Cassander on the Confession of Augsburg. It had started Father Courayer on that work which was so greatly beneficial to the English Church, and it had elicited from Archbishop Wake an admirable sketch of a possible basis of union, which may yet serve as a help in healing the divisions of Christendom.

8. The negotiations with the Eastern Churches did not come from a body in the same position of authority as those conducted by Archbishop Wake, but they may yet be regarded as expressing the views of a not inconsiderable section of English Churchmen. Of these, some account must be given before entering upon the subject of their negotiations. The earlier nonjurors, who stood aloof from the Church of England in the seventeenth century, did not dissent from their brethren on any point of doctrine, but on matters of ecclesiastical order and political obligation. Many of those who took the oaths were as strong upholders of the doctrines of passive obedience and hereditary right as those who separated. But the former thought themselves justified in acquiescing in a *de facto* government when the national will had been clearly proclaimed; and though not accepting the ecclesiastical fitness of the admission of bishops into Sees, the owners of which had been forcibly ousted by the State, they yet did not hold this cause enough to excuse a schism. The divergence, therefore, of the nonjurors from their brethren is not sufficient to justify their being regarded as an alien ecclesiastical body. They must rather be looked upon as a section of the Church of England under certain civil disabilities, and their acts and their history belong to the history of the Church of England. They were men who had the courage of their opinions and were willing to suffer for them. Many of them were conspicuous for learning and

piety, and the history of their voluntary abdication and self-denying effacement is one of which the Church of England may be proud, however strained their political principles may appear to have been.

9. But whatever justification may be pleaded for the separation of the original nonjurors, it seems hard to justify the continuance of the schism, when all the deprived prelates were dead, and the country had long acquiesced in the Revolution settlement. Consequently many of the more sober-minded of the nonjurors gradually returned to the Church. This was the case with the good Robert Nelson and the learned Henry Dodwell. The latter, in his *Case in View*, had written: "We are agreed in asserting the spiritual rights of our surviving fathers who are still pleased to claim them, which no lay deprivations can take from them. But there is a case in view in which we may not prove so unanimous, unless we provide for it before it come to pass. This is on a supposition that all our present survivors' Sees were fairly vacated by death or renunciation. This being supposed, the inquiry will be whether such vacancies of either kind will suffice to put an end to the schism." When this *Case in View* had become the *Case in Fact*, Dodwell wrote another pamphlet with that title, urging all his brethren to return to the Established Church, as he himself and Robert Nelson had done.

10. There were, however, others of the nonjurors who did not at all accept this view. In 1694 Dr. George Hickes, the deprived Dean of Worcester, had been secretly consecrated to the Episcopate, together with Mr. Wagstaffe, by Bishops Lloyd, White, and Turner. In 1713, when Wagstaffe was dead, Hickes applied to the Scottish bishops to join with him, and, together with Bishops Campbell and Gadderar, consecrated Jeremy Collier, Samuel Hawes, and Nathaniel Spinkes to be bishops in the nonjuring Church. In 1716, Hickes being dead, Collier, Spinkes, and Hawes consecrated Gandy and Brett. Brett was one of the second batch of nonjurors who, having taken the oaths to William and Mary, could not nevertheless accept the Hanoverian succession. The nonjuring body received a considerable accession to their numbers at this time. They

were treated with great severity by the Government, and were obliged to observe secrecy with great care both in their publications and their services. But their body contained many learned and able men, and it is probable that their influence on the religious history of the eighteenth century would have been greater had not an unfortunate dispute sprung up in their own body, which divided it into two sections.

11. In the year 1718 certain of the nonjurors, among whom Collier, one of their bishops, was conspicuous, reprinted the Communion Office of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., and published a tract¹ advocating the use of this office in preference to that which was used in the Church of England. In this tract the mixing of water with the wine, the prayer for the dead, the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the elements, and the Oblatory Prayer are defended from primitive practice and strongly recommended. This was answered by another nonjuror,² who strongly deprecated any change as likely to cause divisions, and entered into an examination of the four points. As to the first he contends that the first mention of it is in Justin Martyr, a hundred and fifty years after our Lord's resurrection, so that it cannot be shown to have been always practised, and Scripture is silent on the matter. Prayer for the dead has absolutely no warrant in Scripture, though, inasmuch as much is said of prayer for one another, it could not have been omitted had it been desirable. The prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost cannot be traced higher than the middle of the third century, and it is by implication contained in the office of the Church. With regard to the Oblatory Prayer, the author, fully holding the doctrine that the Eucharist is the Christian sacrifice, nevertheless does not hold it to be necessary. Leslie also wrote against Collier's tract, his

¹ "Reasons for restoring some prayers and directions as they stand in the Communion Service of the First English Reformed Liturgy," etc. etc.

² "No reason for restoring the prayers and directions of Edward VI.'s first Liturgy," by a Nonjuror. Spinkes is said to have been the author. Lathbury, p. 280, note.

object being to prevent division. From his letter we find that a good many of the nonjurors had about this time seceded to the Church of Rome. The strife thus begun was continued in a war of pamphlets for several years, and, as usual, the disputants became greatly embittered against each other. Brett, who was a very learned liturgist, took part with Collier; while Spinkes, Gandy, Taylor, and Bedford wrote on the other side. The majority of the nonjurors were with them; but Collier and Brett, who could not bring themselves to abandon their ground, published the new Liturgy, being that of King Edward's book, with some alterations adopted from the ancient Liturgies.¹ The party who joined with Collier and Brett, and adopted the new form of liturgy, obtained the name of the *Usagers*, from their holding to the usages of King Edward's book.

12. Before the separation of the nonjurors into two parties on the question of the Usages, a negotiation had commenced between them and some prelates of the Eastern Church as to a projected union. This was continued, after the separation, by the Usagers, who were now joined by that portion of the Scotch Church which symbolised with them. The Czar of Russia took the matter up warmly, and recommended it to the consideration of the four Eastern patriarchs. A proposal for a concordat "betwixt the orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches and the Catholic and Apostolic Oriental Church" was drawn up by Brett. In this the primacy of the Church of Jerusalem is recognised, the other Eastern patriarchs having their ancient dignity allowed to them, Constantinople and Rome being placed on the same footing. The document then runs thus:—"That the Catholic remnant of the British Churches, acknowledging that they first received their Christianity from such as came forth from the Church of Jerusalem, before they were subject to the Bishop of Rome and that Church, and professing the same holy Catholic faith delivered by the apostles, and explained in the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, be reciprocally acknowledged as part of the Catholic Church in communion

¹ Lathbury's *Nonjurors*, p. 293.

with the apostles, with the holy fathers of those Councils, and with their successors. That the said Catholic remnant shall thereupon oblige themselves to revive what they long professed to wish for—the ancient godly discipline of the Church—and which they have already actually begun to restore. That in order to a still nearer union, there be as near a conformity in worship established as is consistent with the different circumstances and customs of nations, and with the rites of particular Churches in that case allowed of. That the most ancient English Liturgy, as more near approaching the manner of the Oriental Church, be in the first place restored, with such proper additions and alterations as may be agreed on, to render it still more conformable both to that and the primitive standard. That several of the Homilies of St. Chrysostom and other approved fathers of the said Oriental Church be forthwith translated into English, and read in our holy assemblies. That in the public worship, when prayer is made for the Catholic Church, there be an express commemoration of the Bishop of Jerusalem, and that, especially in the Communion Service, prayer be offered up for him and the other patriarchs with all the bishops of the same communion, and for the deliverance and restoration of the whole Oriental Church. That the faithful and orthodox remnant of the Britannic Church is to be also, by the said Oriental Church on proper occasions, or on certain days, publicly commemorated and prayed for. That there be letters communicatory settled betwixt one and the other, and the acts and deeds on both sides be mutually confirmed.”¹

13. In addition to this proposal, the nonjurors drew up a paper specifying the points in which they were in agreement with the Eastern Church, and those points in which they differed from it. These latter are stated to be five. (1.) They cannot admit the decrees of Councils to be of the same authority as the Scripture. (2.) They cannot agree to any direct cultus of the blessed Virgin. (3.) Nor to the invocation of saints. (4.) Nor to the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Eucharist. (5.) Nor to the worshipping by pictures. If a concordat can be arrived

¹ Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 311.

at, they hope that a Church may be built "in or about" London, in which they may perform such service as is approved by the Eastern patriarchs, and that if the true Church of England be restored, a Greek bishop may reside in England, and upon certain days perform the service at St. Paul's according to the Greek rite. The reply of the Eastern bishops was brought to England in August 1721. They object to the primacy of the patriarch of Jerusalem, inasmuch as he has been placed by the ancient Councils in the fourth place, Constantinople being first. They object altogether to the Pope of Rome being put on the same level with the Constantinople patriarch, as he "has been deceived by the malice of the devil, and fallen into strange novel doctrines, revolted from the unity of the holy Church, and been cut off." They know nothing of the English Liturgy, and can recognise but one, namely, that of St. James, as altered by St. Basil, and again by St. Chrysostom. As to the matters in which the English declare their inability to agree, they say they cannot allow the Synods to be despised. They give no divine honours to the blessed Virgin. They contend that saints may be invoked; that there is actual transubstantiation in the holy Eucharist. To honour the saints by pictures is an ancient piece of devotion. As to the proposal about the Church, they accept it. The reply was signed by the four Eastern patriarchs.

14. The nonjurors returned an elaborate defence of their objections, which is probably the work of Dr. Brett. In this very able document they disprove the propriety of worshipping saints and angels. They show that the doctrine of transubstantiation is opposed to Scripture and the teaching of the primitive fathers. They decline to accept the parity of Councils with Scripture, and as to the adoration before pictures, they hold it to be condemned by what they have urged against saint-worship. Being, however, very desirous to come to an understanding, they make the following offer: "If the Oriental patriarchs, bishops, etc., will authentically declare us not obliged to the invocation of saints and angels, the worship of images, nor the adoration of the Host, these relaxing concessions,

we hope, may answer the overtures on both sides and conciliate an union." This reply was dated May 29, 1722, and signed by the Scottish bishops Campbell and Gadderar; Jeremy Collier, Thomas Brett, English bishops.

15. The Czar of Russia was kept informed of the negotiations, and he desired that two of the English bishops might be sent to Russia for a conference. The reply of the Eastern patriarchs to the paper of the English bishops of May 29 did not, however, hold out much expectation of advantage from a conference. They merely say "they have nothing further to remark in addition to their previous answer. The doctrines had been decided on, and it was not lawful to add anything to them nor take anything from them; that those who were disposed to agree with them in the divine doctrines of the orthodox faith must necessarily follow and submit to what has been defined and determined by ancient Fathers and the Holy Œcumenical Synods, from the time of the apostles and their holy successors, the Fathers of our Church, to this time. We say they must submit to them with sincerity and obedience, and without any scruple or dispute. And this is a sufficient answer to what you have written." The English deputies were not able to proceed to Russia at once, and the delay proved fatal to the success of their project. For in the meantime the Czar died, and, though the Czarina who succeeded him was at first said to be equally favourable with her predecessor to the union, no invitation came from her, and the negotiations ceased. There can be little doubt that, had the deputies of the nonjurors gone to Russia, nothing would have come of it, as the patriarchs would never have consented to the least compromise.¹

16. The nonjurors were now divided into two sections, hostile to one another, and both hostile to the Church, though in different degrees. The party led by Spinkes only dissented on the question of the oaths, and the prayers for the reigning sovereign. The *Usagers*, led by Collier and Brett, had adopted the new Communion Office, and would not use the Book of Common Prayer. Both

¹ Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, chap. viii.

parties consecrated bishops to continue the separation. The Moderates consecrated Taylor and Bedford;¹ the Extremists, Griffin, Thomas Brett *junior*, and Timothy Mawman. Again the moderate party, with the co-operation of the Scottish bishops, obtained the consecration of Doughty, Hall, Blackburn, and Rawlinson. This was in 1728. Soon afterwards an attempt was made to bring the two parties together and to close the schism, and the chief part of the moderate party became absorbed into that of the *Usagers*. Some, however, among whom was William Law, remained unmoved. At this time the nonjurors seem almost to have ceased from controversy, and to have occupied themselves chiefly in learned pursuits. A great number of them resided at Oxford, among whom was the famous antiquary Hearne. The last bishop of the regular nonjurors was consecrated in 1741, when Robert Gordon was set apart by Brett, George Smith, and Mawman. But the spirit of schism and separation soon again arose in the body. The question of the validity of lay baptism, which much troubled the Church of England during all this period, came on also as a matter of contention among the nonjurors, and schisms and divisions followed. They suffered a good deal in the rebellion of 1745, in which many of them were implicated, and though their numbers had now much dwindled, yet their hostility to the Church of England was more intense than ever. The latter days of the body of nonjurors were made famous by some great names, among which stands conspicuous that of Carte, the very learned historian. But the body was rapidly dwindling away. Bishop Gordon died in 1779, and with him the Episcopal succession of the regular nonjurors ceased. But the small body which had separated in 1733 on the question of lay baptism continued to consecrate bishops singly until quite the end of the century. Boothe, the last of the irregular nonjuring bishops, died in Ireland in the year 1805.²

¹ Taylor afterwards consecrated, singly, Welton; and with Welton, Talbot. This was regarded as irregular, and they were not recognised as bishops by the other nonjurors. They were consecrated for America. See Chap. IX.

² Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors*, p. 412.

17. The amount of energy and power lost to the Church of England by the obstinate and indefensible schism of the nonjurors was immense. They were most of them learned men, but, more than that, they had a love and care for Church principles and the spiritual character of the Church; a knowledge of and due appreciation for Christian antiquity; sentiments which were very rare in the Church of England during the eighteenth century. These they carried away with them into retirement, or used against the Church which they should have supported, from the effect of a fanciful sentiment of loyalty, or perhaps a good deal from an obstinate determination not to allow themselves to have been in the wrong. No doubt there was much in the state of the Church which was but little inviting to men of their principles, but they should have reflected that this unsatisfactory state was in great measure due to their own desertion of their posts.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

EPITOME OF THE "COMMON-TORIUM" ON THE ENGLISH ARTICLES BY DR. DU PIN.

[From *Maclaine's Appendix to Mosheim.*]

"Dr. Du Pin, after some reflections, in a tedious Preface, on the Reformation and the present state of the Church of England, reduces the controversy between the two churches to three heads, viz.:—Articles of Faith; Rules and Ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Discipline; and Moral Doctrine or Rules of Practice; and these he treats by entering into an examination of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. The first five of these Articles he approves. With regard to Article VI., which affirms that 'Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation,' he expresses himself thus: 'This we will readily grant, provided that you do not entirely exclude *Tradition*, which

doth not exhibit new articles of faith, but confirms and illustrates those which are contained in the sacred writings, and places about them new guards to defend them against gainsayers.' The doctor thinks that the apocryphal books will not occasion much difficulty. He is indeed of opinion that they ought to be deemed *Canonical*, as those books concerning which there were doubts for some time, 'yet since they are not in the first or Jewish Canon he will allow them to be called *Deutero-Canonical*.' He consents to Article X., which relates to *Free-will*, provided that by the word *Power* be understood what the school divines call *Potentia proxima*, or a direct and immediate power, since, without a remote power of doing good works, sin could not be imputed. With respect to Article XI., which contains the doctrine of *Justification*, Dr. Du Pin thus expresses the sentiments

of his brethren: 'We do not deny that it is by faith alone that we are justified, but we maintain that faith, charity, and good works are necessary to salvation; and this is acknowledged in the following (*i.e.* Article XII.)' Concerning Article XIII., the doctor observes 'that there will be no dispute, since many divines of both communions embrace the doctrine contained in that Article' (*viz.* 'that works done before the grace of Christ are not pleasing to God, and have the nature of sin'). He, indeed, thinks it very harsh to say 'that all those works are sinful which have not the grace of Christ for their source,' but he considers this rather as a matter of theological discussion than as a term of fraternal communion. On Article XIV., relating to works of *Supererogation*, Dr. Du Pin observes that 'works of supererogation mean only works conducive to salvation, which are not matters of strict *precept*, but of *counsel* only; that the word being new may be rejected, provided it be owned that the faithful do some such works.' The doctor makes no objection to Articles XV., XVI., XVII., and XVIII. His observation on Article XIX. is that to the definition of the Church the words 'under lawful pastors' ought to be added; and though all particular Churches, even that of Rome, may err, it is *needless* to say this in a Confession of Faith. He consents to Article XX., which refuses to the Church the power of ordaining anything that is contrary to the Word of God; but he says it must be taken for granted that the Church will never do this in matters which 'overturn essential points of faith.' It is in consequence of this notion that he remarks on Article XXI. that general councils received by the universal Church cannot err; and that though particular councils may, yet every private man has not a right to reject what he thinks contrary to Scripture. As to the im-

portant points of controversy contained in Article XXII., the doctor observes that souls must be *purged*, *i.e.* purified from all defilement of sin before they are admitted to celestial bliss; that the Church of Rome doth not affirm this to be done by fire; that indulgences are only relaxations or remissions of temporal penalties in this life; that the Roman Catholics do not worship the cross, nor relics, nor images, nor even saints before their images, but only pay them an external respect which is not of a religious nature; that even this external respect is a matter of indifference which may be laid aside or retained without harm. He approves of Article XXIII., and does not pretend to dispute about Article XXIV., which ordains the celebration of worship in the vulgar tongue. He indeed excuses the Latin and Greek Churches for retaining their ancient languages; alleges that great care has been taken that everything be understood by translations; but allows that divine service may be performed in the vulgar tongue where that is customary. Under Article XXV. he insists that the five Romish sacraments be acknowledged as such whether instituted by Christ or not. He approves of Articles XXVI. and XXVII., and he proposes expressing that part of Article XXVIII. which relates to *Transubstantiation* (which term he is willing to omit entirely) in the following manner: 'That the Bread and Wine are really changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, which last are truly and really received by all, though none but the faithful receive any benefit from them.' This extends also to Article XXIX. Concerning Article XXX. he is for mutual toleration, and would have the receiving the communion in *both kinds* held indifferent, and liberty left to each Church to preserve, or change, or dispense on certain occasions with its customs. He is less inclined to concessions on

Article XXXI., and maintains that the sacrifice of Christ is not only *commemorated* but *continued* in the Eucharist, and that every communicant offers him along with the priest. He is not a warm stickler for the celibacy of the clergy, but consents so far to Article XXXII. as to allow that priests may marry, where the laws of the Church do not prohibit it. In Articles XXXIII. and XXXIV. he acquiesces without exception. He suspends his judgment with respect to Article XXXV. as he never perused the homilies mentioned therein. As to Article XXXVI. he would not have the English ordinations pronounced null, though some of them perhaps are so; but thinks that if a union be made, the English clergy ought to be continued in their offices and benefices either by right or indulgence. He admits Article XXXVII. so far as relates to the authority of the civil power; denies all temporal and all immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope; but alleges that by virtue of his primacy, which moderate Church of England men do not deny, he is bound to see that the true faith be maintained; that the canons be observed everywhere; and when anything is done in violation of either, to provide the remedies prescribed for such disorders by the canon laws. As to the rest, he is of opinion that

every church ought to enjoy its own liberties and privileges which the Pope has no right to infringe. He declares against going *too far* in the punishment of heretics, against admitting the inquisition into France, and against war without a just cause. Articles XXXVIII. and XXXIX. he approves. Moreover, in the discipline and worship of the Church of England he sees nothing amiss; and thinks no attempts should be made to discover or prove by whose fault the schism was begun. He further observes that a union between the English and French bishops and clergy may be completed, or at least advanced, without consulting the Roman pontiff, who may be informed of the union as soon as it is completed, and may be desired to assent to it; that if he consents to it the affair will then be finished; and that even without his consent the union will be valid; that in case he attempts to terrify by his threats it will then be expedient to appeal to a general council. He concludes by observing that this arduous matter must first be discussed between a few, and if there be reason to hope that the bishops on both sides will agree on the terms of the designed union, that then application must be made to the civil powers to advance and confirm the work, to which he wishes all success."

CHAPTER IV

THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT

1727-1772.

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1. In attempting to delineate the progress of the Church of England in the eighteenth century, we are now brought to the consideration of a movement of far greater importance than its political contests or its controversial duels. In the earlier part of the Hanoverian period the Church influenced the educated classes but slightly, and it was fast losing all influence over the masses. No longer, as in the days of Queen Anne, was there to be found a general prevalence of zeal and earnestness among the clergy, frequent services in the churches, and efficient superintendence by the bishops. A cold chill had fallen upon all. Many of the more zealous clergy had gone into the ranks of the nonjurors, and Whig and courtier bishops did

not show much solicitude for the care of their dioceses. "The religious apathy which set in with the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty in England is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of religion."¹ Then causes began to operate, which gradually brought about a great change.

2. To understand this religious movement we must go back to the times anterior to the Revolution. The great profligacy of the Restoration era affected with sorrow some of the better disposed young men in London, who, under the advice of certain earnest clergy, among whom Dr. Horneck, Mr. Smythies, and Dr. Beveridge were conspicuous, formed themselves into a society for mutual edification and help. Certain rules and orders were agreed upon for their meetings, the contributing to charitable objects being prominent. Two stewards were appointed for the management of their funds, which were applied not only for almsgiving, but also for establishing schools and providing extra services in churches. Thus they procured public prayers every evening at eight o'clock in the Church of St. Clement Danes, "which never wanted a full and affectionate congregation." And soon after they established an evening monthly lecture for communicants in the same church. After the Revolution these societies attracted much attention, and being approved and commended by the Bishop of London they gathered strength. They were conducted on the strictest Church principles, the members binding themselves to frequent communion and constant attendance on the Church service, and using none but the Church prayers in their devotional meetings. They were also under the constant direction of the clergy. In 1710 there were no less than forty-two of these societies in London and Westminster, and a great number in various large towns in the kingdom. There are numerous testimonies to the great effect produced by them.

3. But when the members of these societies became mixed up with those of another class of societies called "Societies for the Reformation of Manners," they encountered considerable difficulty and opposition. These

¹ Overton, *The Evangelical Revival*, p. 1.

latter societies were formed for the prosecution of notorious vice, and in the openly corrupt state of morals then existing they did good service. But they were not Church societies. Dissenting ministers belonged to them as well as clergymen of the Church. At their monthly meetings sermons were preached sometimes by the clergyman, sometimes by the dissenting minister. Hence Archdeacon Nicolson at Carlisle, and Archbishop Sharp at York, opposed them, while on the other hand Archbishop Tenison strongly recommended them. These societies, which had no necessary connection with the others, except that the same persons often belonged to both, seem to have gradually fallen away. But the religious societies continued to exist in full vigour not only in London, but also in Oxford, Nottingham, Gloucester, Bristol, Newcastle, Dublin, Kilkenny, and other places. The founding of one of these societies among the undergraduates of Oxford led to important results as regards the history of the Church of England.¹

4. In the year 1727 there were at Oxford two sons of the Rev. Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, Lincolnshire. John, the elder of these, having graduated at Christ Church, became a Fellow of Lincoln on the Lincolnshire foundation, and lecturer at his college. The second, Charles, was a student of Christ Church. The latter, while still an undergraduate, began the practice of drawing a few of his friends together for religious exercises, and when the elder brother, who had been temporarily absent from Oxford acting as his father's curate at Epworth, returned to the University, he gladly joined this little coterie, and gave it form and extension.² John Wesley was familiar with the working of the religious societies, his father having been a great advocate for them, and having preached before them,³ and he impressed the character of these organisa-

¹ Dr. Woodward's *Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies*. Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 254. Overton's *Life in the English Church*, chap. v.

² Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 66.

³ Overton's *Life in the English Church*, p. 212. The sermon is still extant.

tions on the little body gathered together at Oxford. They were about twenty-seven in number. "Three were tutors of colleges; the rest were bachelors of arts or undergraduates. All were of one judgment and one heart, and all tenacious of order to the last degree, and observant for conscience' sake of every rule of the Church. . . . Every night they met together to review what each had done during the day, and to consult what should be done the day following, their meetings always commencing with prayer and ending with a frugal supper. Their plans of action were various. Some conversed with young students and endeavoured to rescue them from evil company, and to encourage them in a sober and studious life. Others undertook the instruction and relief of impoverished families; others the charge of some particular school; others of the parish workhouse. . . . They read prayers at the Castle on most Wednesdays and Fridays, preached a sermon to the prisoners every Sunday, and administered the sacrament once a month."¹ They themselves attended the weekly communion at St. Mary's, and observed with the greatest strictness the fasts and festivals of the Church. They were nicknamed the Godly Club and the Methodists, because they were governed by rules, and this latter name they seem to have accepted and adopted. As far as Oxford was concerned the movement was but temporary. The greater part of the original members of the society fell away, and when John and Charles Wesley left Oxford (1735) the society practically collapsed. But from the work of the Wesleys in a different sphere great results followed.

5. Nearly coincident in time with the formation of the Oxford society was the publication of two works which greatly influenced both the Wesleys, and in fact had a marked and singular effect in promoting religious earnestness in the Church of England. These were *Christian Perfection* and the *Serious Call*, by Mr. William Law. In both these books religious observance is stretched to its utmost limits, and a standard placed before the reader which, if attainable, is certainly within the reach of very few. Law, says his biographer, takes "a very gloomy view

¹ Tyerman, i. 69.

of life,"¹ so gloomy indeed that he appears to run almost into Manicheeism, and to regard all material things as absolutely evil. But the ascetic life is recommended with great power and beauty, and Law's own style and wealth of illustration are the best refutation of his argument against the value of human learning. "Though he abused scholarship he always wrote as a well-read scholar."² Of the two books the *Serious Call* was the more widely read, and there is abundant evidence that it had the strongest influence on many of the master minds of that day, among whom may especially be mentioned both John and Charles Wesley. That such a book should have been so widely popular, so frequently reprinted, and so much studied, is somewhat of a testimony against the exceeding frivolousness of this age, which is so much insisted on by writers who desire to magnify the work of the revivalists.

6. John and Charles Wesley on leaving Oxford had gone to Georgia (1735), a colony founded by General Oglethorpe, originally with the philanthropic view of providing a place of settlement for a number of debtors whose release from prison he had procured. A band of Moravians, who had been persecuted in their own country, joined the settlers, and many repaired to them from other quarters. John Wesley's first intention was to endeavour to convert the Red Indians, but finding this impracticable, he became the pastor of the colony, which numbered some six or seven hundred people. He was met by great difficulties. His brother Charles soon abandoned the work, and John, after becoming involved in some very unpleasant legal proceedings,³ escaped secretly from the colony, and made his way to England. During his Georgian life Mr. Wesley was an ardent disciple of Mr. Law, and endeavoured to carry out with ultra precision the Church system as laid down in the Prayer Book. The same lack of judgment, and of fair consideration for the weakness of human nature, was observable in his practice, as is to be found in Mr. Law's teaching.

¹ Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 40.

² *Ib.* p. 47.

³ A very fair and unprejudiced account of the Georgian episode in Mr. Wesley's life is given by Mr. Tyerman in his fourth chapter.

7. In Georgia Mr. Wesley was succeeded by George Whitefield, who had already come under his influence at Oxford, and who was destined to be afterwards almost as famous a revivalist as his friend. Whitefield, the son of a Gloucester innkeeper, was servitor at Pembroke College, and for a long time only regarded the Methodist club with reverence from a distance, feeling himself in too humble a position to join them. Accident, however, brought him acquainted with Charles Wesley, and he was soon admitted as a member, and adopted all their rules. He was very harshly treated by the college authorities, and subjected to much ridicule, but he persevered.¹ In 1736 Whitefield was ordained deacon at the age of twenty-one by Benson, Bishop of Gloucester, and the following year he preached his first sermon in London, in Bishopsgate Church. His extraordinary powers as a preacher, his unequalled voice, his impassioned manner, his unfailing command of language, attracted immediate attention, and his popularity at once became extreme. Thousands were sent away from the largest churches for want of room. He preached generally nine times a week, most of the London churches being open to him. The early communions at which he assisted were thronged,² Whitefield as yet being a strict Churchman after the pattern of the Wesleys. It is remarkable that with this amazing popularity Whitefield should have thought it his duty, on the return of Mr. Wesley, to quit the metropolis, and go to the obscure colony of Georgia.³

8. On his return (February 1, 1738) John Wesley began eagerly to carry on his evangelising work, preaching everywhere with intense earnestness. But he was not satisfied with his own religious state, and falling now under the influence of Peter Böhler, a Moravian, he accepted the doctrine of this enthusiastic sect, viz. that every one must have a special and definite time of "conversion," which must be instantaneous, and sensible, and which once having been reached, testifies for itself in the soul, and makes its presence known. In accordance with these views, Mr.

¹ Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 104.

² Philip's *Life of Whitefield*, p. 50.

³ He left England the day before Mr. Wesley arrived.

Wesley deemed himself to have been "converted" about nine o'clock on Wednesday, May 24, 1738, at a meeting of a society in Aldersgate Street, while some one was reading Luther's introduction to the Epistle to the Romans. His brother Charles had reached the state of assurance three days previously.¹ Though the two brothers soon after this rejected some of the fantastical follies of the Moravians, they seem never to have abandoned this doctrine of sensible conversion. They also adopted the notion from the Moravians, that a man thus "converted" can live without sin. There was, however, nothing antinomian in Wesley's teaching, and the fulness and universality of grace was set forth by him with admirable power—a doctrine which was soon to bring him into collision with the Calvinists.

9. The "conversion" supposed to have been reached by Mr. Wesley on May 24 did not free him from some imperfections. One of the first fruits of it was to induce him to write a violent letter to William Law, finding fault with Law's teaching in a very rude way. This, of course, drew a rejoinder from Law, who was not a person to be attacked with impunity, and a correspondence ensued, in which, as Wesley's biographer admits, he was "not victorious but vanquished."² Wesley himself did not long remain satisfied with his state. Six or seven months after the "conversion" he mournfully records that he is "not a Christian."³ He was indeed altogether confused and unsettled by the wild teaching of the Moravians, but so much was he attracted by the spirituality of this singular people that he went to pay a visit to their headquarters at Herrnhut. Here he was much impressed by their zeal, and returning to England was drawn more closely to the

¹ *Journal of John Wesley*, i. 98, 102, 111. Mr. Tyerman, John Wesley's biographer, is perplexed how to account for Mr. Wesley's devoted Christian life before this period if he was an "unconverted" man. Wesley himself described his condition at that time as that of a servant of God, but afterwards as a son. But both Wesley and his biographer are somewhat in doubt about it. "He asserts that when he went to America to convert the Indians, he was not himself converted; but in the appended note he adds, 'I am not sure of this,' neither are we," adds Mr. Tyerman.—Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 166.

² Tyerman, i. 155.

³ *Id.* i. 192.

Moravians than ever, and joined the society under their rules in Fetter Lane. His biographer complains that Wesley was now "almost uniformly excluded from the pulpits of the Established Church," and calls him an "expelled minister." But there was no reason why the clergy should have put their pulpits at his disposal, and as to his being "expelled," it is almost immediately afterwards recorded that he had interviews with three bishops, who all treated him kindly, and the archbishop "with great affection."¹ As many churches were not at his disposal, Wesley at length made up his mind to follow the example of his friend Whitefield, and to "dare to preach in the open air" (1739). This and the excited scenes which were often witnessed at his sermons, naturally led sober-minded clergy to decline the services of this preacher. This was magnified into "persecution," and considered to be an "encouragement." Many clergy were also roused to write against the new school of enthusiasts, and in some cases in a very unsuitable manner.

10. Out of the number of sermons against his views which were printed those of Dr. Joseph Trapp may be selected, as they formed rather a more considerable work than those of most of the others, and were published under the title of the "Nature, folly, and sin of being righteous overmuch," etc. The cause of the Church was in danger of suffering far more from the mistaken defence of advocates than from the eccentricities of the zealous revivalists. Dr. Trapp was a respectable High Church divine who was violently opposed to all forms of enthusiasm. Thus his work was directed against William Law and the observant and ascetic school, quite as much as against the sensational school of Wesley and Whitefield. His principles might be very defensible, but the tone and manner of the treatise, and specially the time² in which it was put forth, made

¹ Tyerman, i. 224-226, 230.

² Considering the universal complaint in George II.'s reign, that all classes were righteous over little, we might certainly agree with the comment of a noble lady on the sermon. "It is a doctrine which does not seem absolutely necessary to be preached to the people of the present age."—Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 297.

it likely to be very mischievous, and in consequence it drew forth an earnest and serious rebuke from Mr. William Law. In his answer Law does not allude to the Methodists. "As against Dr. Trapp, he was certainly on the side of the Methodists, and therefore this was not the occasion to emphasise his differences with them."¹

11. It would have been altogether unseemly for the clergy to have been silent in the face of such wild proceedings as were countenanced, especially by Whitefield, a young divine of much more zeal than discretion. But above all things a grave, religious, and earnest tone was needed in their writings. These characteristics were all eminently displayed in the Pastoral now put out by Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, which was directed against lukewarmness on one side and enthusiasm on the other, and which contained references to Whitefield's *Journal*, in which the writer supposes himself to be under special inspiration, to have direct communications with God, and speaks of himself under the character of an apostle of Christ, and even of Christ himself. The Wesleyan historian designates the Pastoral as "a model of meek writing," and characterises Whitefield's reply as "one of the smartest productions of his pen."² Most persons would probably describe it somewhat more unfavourably, and specially as exhibiting a strange ignorance of the Scriptures which he was so zealous to teach.

12. The self-confidence and lack of humility, exhibited in Whitefield's reply to the venerable and learned Bishop of London, is a characteristic type of all enthusiasts, and one without which a large measure of success does not ordinarily fall to their lot. It was most remarkable in Whitefield, but it was also very conspicuous in John Wesley. Mr. Wesley is often credited with having preserved his High Church principles unimpaired through the whole of his revival work. They did not, however, lead him to respect episcopal authority when it clashed with his own plans. Being canonically informed by the Bishop of Bristol that he was not commissioned to preach in that

¹ Overton's *Life of Law*, p. 303.

² Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 246.

diocese, and being therefore desired to cease, he answered, "At present I think I can do good here, therefore here I stay." This he must have felt to be, on Church principles, somewhat of a bold utterance. He therefore proceeds to endeavour to justify it on Church ground. "Being ordained a priest, by the commission I then received I am a priest of the Church universal; and being ordained as fellow of a college I was not limited to any particular cure, but have an indeterminate commission to preach the word of God in any part of the Church of England."¹ Mr. Wesley here seems to forget that his priestly mission ran in these words: "Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments in the congregation, *where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*" Probably if he had been treated in a somewhat less defiant fashion, Bishop Butler would not have refused to Mr. Wesley a license to preach in his diocese, where his teaching was much valued, and was doubtless producing good effects.

13. At Bristol Mr. Wesley found his home in the rooms of those "Religious Societies" whose origin has been previously mentioned, and in imitation of which the first society of Methodists was formed. "These were small gatherings of religious people," says Mr. Tyerman, "which had continued meeting for godly purposes for about the last fifty years. They met to pray, sing psalms, and read the Scriptures together; and to reprove, exhort, and edify one another by religious conference. They also carried out designs of charity, such as supporting lectures and daily prayers in churches, releasing imprisoned debtors, relieving the poor, and sending their children to school. In 1737 Whitefield preached a sermon before the "Religious Societies" at one of their general quarterly meetings at Bow Church, London; and in their rooms and meetings in London, Bristol, and elsewhere, Whitefield and the Wesley brothers for a few years were accustomed to read and explain the Scriptures almost every night."² At Bristol there were several of these societies flourishing, and in them Mr. Wesley conducted his religious exercises.

14. Strange scenes began now to be witnessed at

¹ Tyerman, i. 246.

² *Ib.* i. 254.

these meetings. People suddenly fell down as if in agonies of pain or death, roaring and shouting aloud. Then prayers were offered for the sufferers, who soon declared that they had found peace and joy. Sometimes the voice of the preacher could scarce be heard for the groanings and wailings of the audience, and every form of the most violent hysterical effect was exhibited. Whitefield remonstrated with Wesley for encouraging these "convulsions." But it does not appear that Wesley did encourage them, or that he was in any way gratified by these seizures, which singularly enough occurred only in Bristol, and only under his ministry. Charles Wesley writes in his *Journal*, "I am more and more convinced the fits were a device of Satan to stop the course of the gospel."¹

15. At Bristol at this time (1739) Mr. Wesley commenced the building of his first chapel, destined to contain "the societies" of Nicholas Street and Baldwin Street, and soon afterwards, with the aid of friends, he purchased in London a disused foundry, near Moorfields, which became the first chapel of the metropolis, and a sort of headquarters for Mr. Wesley and the Methodists. This period also is remarkable in the history of Methodism for the beginning of the employment of lay preachers; for the rejection by Mr. Wesley of the mad fancies of the Moravians; and for the commencement of the genuine Wesleyan embodiment. There was as yet no thought of separating from the Church, but a letter of Samuel Wesley, the elder brother of John and Charles, written shortly before his death, speaks ominously as to this matter. "I am not afraid the Church should excommunicate him (J. Wesley). Discipline is at too low an ebb. But that he should excommunicate the Church. It is pretty near it. Holiness and good works are not so much as *conditions* of our acceptance with God. Love-feasts are introduced, and extemporary prayers, and expositions of Scripture; which last are enough to bring in all confusion; nor is it likely they will want any miracles to support them. He only who ruleth the madness of the people can stop them from being a formed sect. Ecclesiastical censures have lost

¹ C. Wesley's *Journal*, i. 314.

their terrors ; thank fanaticism on one side and atheism on the other. To talk of persecution from thence is mere insult.”¹

16. The controversy of the two Wesleys with the Moravian brethren, who had been very actively engaged in proselytising in many parts of England, and with whom the Wesleys had hitherto co-operated, and their final separation from them, is an important chapter in the history of this religious revival. An extraordinary amount of bitterness was exhibited by the Moravians, whose special tenets were that persons were to be “still” and wait for grace ; that they were not to use any “means,” because there was a danger of their “trusting” in them ; that if a man doubted of his salvation he was still in a heathen state. These enthusiasts supposed themselves to be the only true Christians in existence. “Richard Bell, watch-case maker, seemed to think that he and Molther, and another, were all the Church that Christ had in England.”² The masculine common sense and scriptural knowledge of Mr. Wesley revolted against such teaching as this, but he was bitterly pained both by the defection of his old disciples and friends, and by the excessive harshness with which he was attacked. At length he determined to take a decided step. Having been excluded from the pulpit in the Fetter Lane Society he went to their Love-feast, and at its conclusion read a paper stating the errors into which they had fallen, and concluding thus : “I believe these assertions to be flatly contrary to the Word of God. I have warned you hereof again and again, and besought you to turn back to the ‘law and the testimony.’ I have borne with you long, hoping you would turn. But as I find you more and more confirmed in the error of your ways, nothing now remains but that I should give you up to God. You that are of the same judgment follow me. He then silently withdrew, eighteen or nineteen of the society following him.”³ The day following, the seceding society, numbering about twenty-five men and fifty women, met for the first time at the foundry instead of at Fetter Lane, and so the Methodist society was founded on July 23, 1740.

¹ Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 287.

² *Ib.* i. 307.

³ *Ib.* i. 309.

17. The Moravian doctrines are so absurd that to state them is sufficient to confute them. But this is not the case with respect to the Calvinist doctrines of predestination and election, which have found vigorous and able defenders in all ages of the Church. The greatest service which John Wesley did to the cause of religion was his bold and able opposition to these doctrines, and his noble defence of the doctrine of free grace. But in advocating this he was brought into sharp collision with his friend and former coadjutor George Whitefield. "Whitefield," says Wesley's biographer, "was no theologian, and his logical faculties were small."¹ This is abundantly evident from his published works, which are poor and weak. He was no match for Wesley in controversy, and his attempt to answer Wesley's grand sermon on "Free Grace" proved a failure. The controversy waxed very warm, and led to a complete separation (1749). "He told me," says Mr. Wesley, "he and I preached two different gospels, and therefore he not only would not join with or give me the right hand of fellowship, but was resolved publicly to preach against me and my brother whensoever he preached at all." From this separation grew the sect of the Calvinistic Methodists, who regard Whitefield as their founder.²

18. The controversial writings against the peculiar doctrines of the Wesleys had (with the exception of that of Bishop Gibson) proceeded from divines of little power or theological knowledge, and had been in many cases disfigured by personal abuse and vulgar railing. The Church greatly needed a sober, learned, and exhaustive utterance on the important subjects of regeneration and justification. This was supplied by that divine who had so often come to the help of the Church in her hour of need. In 1740 Dr. Waterland wrote two tracts, "Regeneration Stated" and his "Summary view of the Doctrine of Justification." These were his last services to the Church, as he died within two months of their publication.

¹ Tyerman, i. 312.

² J. Wesley's *Journal*, i. 305; Philip's *Life of Whitefield*, chap. viii.; Southey's *Life of Wesley*, chap. xi.

They were both intended to meet the novel teaching of the Methodists, though these are not named in them. Justification is shown to be due instrumentally not to faith alone in such a way as to exclude good works from being a necessary condition of it. And regeneration is shown to be the work of Christian baptism, in accordance with the teaching of the Church. "The deviations of modern writers are examined and refuted; particularly the denial of baptism as the ordinary instrument for conveying justification, of the instrumentality of faith in receiving it, and of the conditions on which its efficacy is made to depend. The doctrine is then further guarded against the extremes of undervaluing the Divine grace in the work of justification on the one hand; or, on the other, of so magnifying it as to supersede or diminish the necessity of obedience and a good life."¹ That this wholesome and Christian teaching was much needed at this time is evident; but it was too little regarded by those who placed all religion in internal sensations, as well as by those who ignorantly denied and scoffed at the work of grace in the soul.

19. The Wesleys having thus shaken themselves free from Antinomianism, as represented by the Moravians, and from Calvinism as represented by Whitefield, seemed to be hindered by no especial bar from becoming genuine revivalists of the Church of England. But there were in reality very great impediments in the way. The tone of the age and of the clergy was altogether hostile to excitement and enthusiasm, and without excitement and enthusiasm a revival movement can hardly go on. Pamphlets, sermons, and charges were directed against the Methodists, all of them more or less based upon this fundamental objection to their work, that it encouraged wild excitement and undue enthusiasm. The clergy drew back from them more and more, and it soon became evident that if the movement was to advance, of which its popularity seemed to give good promise, it must advance in a line more and more divergent from that of the Church.

20. The clergy of the eighteenth century are usually

¹ Van Mildert's *Life of Waterland*, i. 288.

greatly blamed for their attitude towards the Methodists, and it is frequently asserted that the Wesleys and their followers were thrust out of the Church, to her great loss and damage. These accusations are made without due foundation. It was certainly open to the clergy, if not their bounden duty, to preach and write against the Methodist doctrines of sensible and instantaneous conversion, assurance as the test of safety, sinless perfection, and other eccentricities. Upon what principle could it be shown that parish priests were at once to accept views so entirely opposed to the sober doctrines of their Church, and to countenance their being taught to their people, merely because certain clergy, full of zeal indeed, and in the main orthodox, claimed the right of teaching them at all times and in all places? Those who had been zealous to inculcate on their people the requirements of practical religion would not welcome this disturbing element, which, though it did not in theory reject the importance of good living, practically ignored it, and seemed to place the seat of religion in the sensations.¹ That the opposition of the clergy to the Methodists was often attended with coarseness and rudeness² is greatly to be lamented, but in itself opposition was justifiable, and indeed ought to have been more systematic, and upon more distinct Church principles. As a matter of fact there were not a few, both among the

¹ "It is inconceivable," says Mr. Abbey, "that any number of sober English Churchmen could ever have become Methodists. Yet the case stood thus, that if they did not agree in the main with Methodism, Wesley, with all his tolerance, all his Churchmanship, could barely find room for them in the Christian system. And therefore a wide gap inevitably rose up between them, and would in all probability have done so even if the Church had been as faultless in its dealings with him, as too often it was the contrary."—*English Church and its Bishops*, i. 288.

² "How bishops have treated the Methodists in common discourse I have been an ear-witness myself, viz. with language not only below the episcopal dignity, but even inconsistent with common decency, in which to my knowledge they have been followed with great zeal by our brethren from the chaplain to the country curate."—*Blackburne's Works*, i. 312. Bishops Lavington, Warburton, and Smallbrooke were among the most violent writers against the Methodists.

bishops¹ and the clergy, who favoured the Methodists, and to assert that the Wesleys were driven out of the Church by anything but their own acts is inconsistent with the facts of the case.

21. Many of the more sober-minded of the clergy were greatly shocked by the wild enthusiasm and exaggerated subjectivity, which characterised the discourses of some of the leaders of the Methodists who were in holy orders. But when it came to the employment (1741) of lay preachers, and the building of chapels for these preachers to exercise their gifts in, the repulsion became stronger. The Church principles, to which the Wesleys endeavoured to cling, seemed to be contradicted by this growth of their system, and John Wesley tried to justify it, writing apparently with the endeavour to convince himself, but not altogether successfully.² There were, however, not a few of the clergy who were willing to tolerate this and the other eccentricities of the Methodists, for the sake of the great power for good which evidently attended their ministrations. The names of the following clergy are found among the earlier supporters of the movement, principally indeed that part of it which was connected with Whitefield—viz. Rev. John Hodges, rector of Wenvo; Rev. Henry Piers, vicar of Bexley; Rev. Samuel Taylor, vicar of Quintin; Rev. Charles Manning, vicar of Hayes; Rev. Vincent Perronet, vicar of Shoreham; Rev. John Merriton of the Isle of Man.³ The Methodist leaders were also freely patronised by many of the aristocracy,⁴ and received distinct encouragement from the throne itself, so that the allegation of their persecution and rejection by the Church can hardly be maintained. The period at which they began their labours was the era of bull-baiting, cock-fighting, drunkenness, and brutality, and very nobly did they confront those savage mobs in Staffordshire and Cornwall, too often en-

¹ See *English Church and its Bishops*, i. 384 sq.

² See Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 370.

³ *Life of Countess of Huntingdon*, i. 61.

⁴ "The Methodists still continued to attract considerable attention, and the persons of rank who attended their ministry became objects of notoriety."—*Life of Countess of Huntingdon*, i. 35.

couraged by some profligate clergyman. But it must be confessed that these outbreaks were sometimes brought about by the indiscretions of the Methodist preachers themselves. One of the worst of them, that at Wednesbury in 1743, is distinctly said by Mr. Wesley himself to have been due to this cause. Mr. Egginton, the vicar of Wednesbury, was at first "extremely courteous," invited Wesley to his house, and said, "the oftener he came the better." But the violent preaching of Mr. Williams, who came after Wesley, and his bitter attacks on the Church, exasperated him, and Wesley laments "the inexcusable folly of Mr. Williams, which had so provoked Mr. Egginton that his former love was turned into bitter hatred."¹ When, however, the violence of mobs here and there against the Methodists is dwelt upon and justly reprobated, it should be remembered that the Methodists received ready and effective protection from the authorities. It is well remarked that under no other government probably would the assembling of those vast gatherings of 20,000 or 30,000 persons to hear the addresses of the Wesleys and Whitefield have been tolerated; and though individual magistrates were sometimes harsh in their treatment of them, "the superior courts were a sure refuge, where not scanty justice, but liberal countenance, was afforded to the new species of Dissenters." The allowance also of the Methodists to take advantage of the Toleration Act for the protection of their chapels—an Act passed for the benefit of Dissenters—when they loudly proclaimed that they were not Dissenters, was certainly to stretch a point in their favour.² On Wesley's first visit to Cornwall he was mobbed and ill-treated, but on his return afterwards several churches were open to him, in four of which he preached at the request of the incumbents.³ The character also of the literary opposition to the Methodists on the part of the clergy became more calm and rational. The Methodist historian

¹ Tyerman, i. 407.

² *Life of Lady Huntingdon*, i. 70, 71.

³ In 1747 he writes of a visit to Cornwall:—"Several ministers are clearly convinced of the truth; few are bitter. Most seem to stand neuter."—Tyerman, i. 555. Did not Wesley altogether over-estimate the opposition of the clergy to his doctrines?

specially notices with commendation the "Remarks" of Mr. Church, vicar of Battersea, and prebendary of St. Paul's¹ (1745); and Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, conducted a "long, temperate, and able correspondence with Wesley under the alias of John Smith."²

22. While the character and value of the work of the revivalists, as well as their objectionable eccentricities, began to be more clearly understood in the Church, it appeared to Wesley that the time had arrived for setting out somewhat more formally a statement of the doctrines taught by himself and his assistants, and their method of acting. Accordingly on June 25, 1744, there met by his invitation at the Foundry Chapel, London, the first Wesleyan Conference. The gathering consisted of the two Wesleys, four other clergymen (Hodges, Piers, Taylor, Merriton), and four lay preachers (Richards, Maxfield, Bennet, Downes). The three points debated were:—(1.) What to teach; (2.) How to teach; (3.) How to regulate doctrine, discipline, and practice. Under the first head a highly artificial system of theology was enunciated. "To be justified is to be pardoned and received into God's favour. Faith preceded by repentance is the condition of justification. Repentance is a *conviction of sin*.³ Faith, in general, is a divine supernatural *elenchos* of things not seen. Justifying faith is a conviction by the Holy Ghost that Christ loved me, and gave Himself for me. No man can be justified and not know it. The immediate fruits of justifying faith are peace, joy, love, power over all outward sin, and power to keep down inward sin. Wilful sin is inconsistent with justifying faith. No believer *need ever* come into condemnation. Works are necessary for the continuance of faith, which cannot be lost but for the want of them. St. Paul and St. James do not contradict one another. Sanctification is a renewal in the image of God, in righteousness, and true holiness. Perfection may be reached." The Conference also resolved to defend the

¹ Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 478.

² *Ib.* p. 500.

³ This manifestly inadequate definition was modified next year by its being laid down that "supposing there be opportunity for them there must be fruits, or works meet for repentance."—Tyerman, i. 498.

doctrine of the Church of England, both by their preaching and living ; to obey the bishops *in all things indifferent* ; to observe the canons, as *far as they could with a safe conscience* ; to exert themselves to the utmost not to entail a schism on the Church, by forming their hearers into a distinct sect ; though they must not neglect the present opportunity of saving souls for fear of future consequences. The belief was expressed that the design of God in raising up the preachers called Methodists was to reform the nation, and particularly the Church, and to spread scriptural holiness through the land. It was decided that wherever they preached they were to form societies, and these were to be of four sorts. The *united societies*, containing all the hearers generally ; the *bands*, containing the more advanced ; the *select*, containing the most sanctified ; the *penitents*, those who had fallen from grace. Lay assistants were allowed who were to teach and expound and assist in discipline ; but as yet there was no thought of their administering the sacraments. Rules were also adopted for preachers, and they were specially charged to reprove strongly all sorts of vice.¹ Such was the first formal settlement of the Methodist organisation. It professed to be in no way a dissenting settlement, but, in fact, it had in itself the seeds of inevitable schism. The theology accepted was not the theology of the Church ; the obligation to obey Church authority was left to each man to settle for himself ; the arrangement of societies was independent of the parochial system, and of course liable to supersede it.² The lay preachers and the preaching houses furnished a dangerous opening for schism. In after years many still greater eccentricities followed. Yet John Wesley appears throughout to have been under the impression that he was acting on Church principles, and was in no way consciously a dissenter from the Church. He was, however, in fact, lacking in the first element of true Churchmanship—subordination and humility. He could not act under others, or

¹ Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, i. 443-447.

² "John Wesley was profoundly attached to the doctrine and discipline (?) of the English Church, but had no love for it as a Church establishment."—Abbey, *English Church and Bishops*, ii. 116.

even with others on equal terms. He was born to be a leader of men, and as such he probably accomplished a greater work than he could have done, if he had had the spirit of a genuine Churchman.

23. George Whitefield, after his separation from the Wesleys, spent much of his time in Georgia and the American colonies, where he produced great effects. In Georgia he had founded an Orphans' Home at Savannah to which he devoted much attention. Whitefield was a field preacher of unexampled power and energy, and a man who was thoroughly in earnest, loving and pure. But he was lacking in discretion, in scholarship, and in temper; and especially wanting in what may perhaps best be described as good taste, of which the fulsome language used by him towards his aristocratic patrons is a melancholy example. Whitefield was not an organiser like John Wesley, and he too disclaimed all idea of forming a sect. What, however, without some organisation being provided for them, was to become of the converts that he made and the followers that he drew after him? It is clear that these could not, consistently with his teaching, continue to worship in the Church, for Whitefield was never tired of railing at the clergy, attacked without scruple many of the bishops, not sparing even the aged Bishop Benson, who had ordained him at an uncanonical age, or the saintly Bishop Wilson of Man. Whitefield elected to transfer his allegiance from his ecclesiastical superiors to the Countess of Huntingdon, who in 1748, on his return from America, appointed him her chaplain,¹ and whom he describes as the "elect lady," "an apostolic mother in Israel," and "like a good archbishop with her chaplains around her."² Whitefield, in fact, proceeded on parallel lines with the Wesleys, and if he did not organise societies he built chapels with the aid of his aristocratic patrons and the ready contributions which his eloquence called forth. His first chapel in London, called the Tabernacle, in Moorfields, was soon succeeded by another on the same site of much larger dimensions. Then came the

¹ *Life of Lady Huntingdon*, i. 99.

² *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 103.

chapel at Tottenham Court and many others in England and Wales. Those who favoured Calvinistic doctrines, and shrank from the declaration of free grace as set forth by the Wesleys, adhered to Whitefield. By and by the necessity of protecting these chapels by registration under the Toleration Act arose, and thus the sect of Calvinistic Methodists was founded. The property of some of the chapels was vested in Lady Huntingdon, who "appointed such persons to officiate as ministers as she thought fit, revoking such appointments at her pleasure." Congregations who worshipped here were called "Lady Huntingdon's connection," and the ministers who officiated "ministers to Lady Huntingdon's connection."¹

24. While these zealous revivalists were contending against the vice and brutality of the age by exciting sermons and itinerant labours, a saintly bishop in the Isle of Man was drawing near the end of a long career, spent almost entirely in that little island, and devoted almost exclusively to an attempt to govern by a primitive discipline a rough and immoral people. The name of Thomas Wilson will ever be remembered by Churchmen, as that of one of the most conspicuous worthies of the Church of England. Simple in his life, entirely devoted to his work, of a self-denying liberality and an intense love for his people, Bishop Wilson recalled all the best traits of the primitive Church. His writings, prayers, meditations, breathe a perfect and complete piety. With the highest preferment within his reach he would never entertain the thought of leaving his island; and while John Wesley shrank with horror from the idea of being confined to one place, this to Bishop Wilson was his glory and his boast. Without any of the excitement drawn by the Methodist leaders from their bands of devoted followers and their constant changes of scene; amidst a rough, uncultured, and ignorant population; contending with immoral and tyrannical governors; aided by a feeble and somewhat licentious clergy; thwarted, reviled, imprisoned; this good bishop for more than half a century never faltered in contending for the right and the truth. That the discipline which he so strenuously upheld

¹ *Life of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 490.

was fully successful cannot be affirmed ; that some of the punishments inflicted were rough and degrading must be admitted ; but the love, which was so conspicuous in the bishop, touched many hearts which the punishments would otherwise have simply hardened ; and the plain and careful instruction, which he so zealously gave, left to none the excuse of sinning through ignorance. Many generations of Christians have learned deep lessons from his simple and spiritual words.

25. About the middle of the century a considerable number of clergy began to preach in their several parishes with more vigour and earnestness the doctrines of grace, and to produce great effects. The impulse given to these men proceeded directly from the success attending the labours of the Wesleys and Whitefield, and they were on terms of intimacy with these itinerants, although they did not imitate them in their methods and their organisation. They mostly inclined to the Calvinistic views of Whitefield rather than to the Arminianism of John Wesley. They were patronised and supported by Lady Huntingdon and her aristocratic friends, and were in the habit of being brought together for regular gatherings at her house, on one of which occasions they came to a formal resolution "to brave every suffering and reproach for the Gospel's sake, and persevere in the great cause in which they were engaged till every city had the standard of the cross erected in it, and every obscure village in the kingdom by some means or other should hear the joyful sound."¹ Among the earliest of these clergy, who afterwards gained the name of the Evangelicals, must be placed James Hervey, the author of the *Meditations*, Mr. Grimshaw of Haworth, Mr. Romaine of London, Mr. Venn of Huddersfield, Mr. Walker of Truro, Mr. Adam of Winteringham, Mr. Robinson of Leicester, the two Milners. But the body rapidly increased, and before the century was very old numbered some two or three hundred. They were known as the "awakened" clergy, the "converted" clergy, the "serious" clergy, and seem to have assumed and affected a character distinct from their brethren. Their phraseology was peculiar, and sometimes

¹ *Life of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 5.

repulsive and irreverent, (but not designedly so). They were full of zeal, and if no great divine appeared among them they were yet, most of them, well calculated to arouse and instruct their flocks. They were the parents of the modern Evangelicals, and the history of their great progress in the latter part of the century, when they were altogether separated from both the Methodist connections, will be given farther on.¹

26. The teaching and preaching of these good men was not altogether in harmony with the tone of the Church of England; and it is probable that most of them thought but little of the requirements of the Church in comparison with what they called "the Gospel," that is to say, a formula of doctrine drawn from the Scriptures by their own private judgment. This consisted mainly in the utter disparagement of good works, and the most contemptuous reviling of the state of human nature and its ability to do any good thing. This was intended to exalt and magnify the all-sufficient sacrifice of the Cross. But it was perilous teaching, and seemed to lead directly to antinomianism. On this ground, as on that of predestination, the followers of John Wesley reached eventually a theology sounder than that of these clergy. There were not wanting, however, at this period earnest men of a different school, who with as great love of Scripture, as the "serious" clergy, taught it with more sober and justly balanced views. Of these a good specimen was William Jones, who has already been mentioned in connection with his controversial writings. Mr. Jones was a High Churchman in his day, and putting the greatest value on the Church system and the efficacy of the Sacraments, he set himself diligently to work to increase the number of communicants in his parish, in which he was very successful. He disliked equally the enthusiasm of the Methodists and the mysticism of Mr. Law. Especially he did good service to the cause of religion by directing the shafts of irony and ridicule against the heathen taste which then prevailed in everything; against the miserable code of morals brought into fashion by Lord Chesterfield, and the debased character of the

¹ See Chap. VI.

light literature of the day. "The fabulous objects of the Grecian mythology have even got possession of our churches," he writes, "in one of which I have seen a monument with elegant figures as large as life of the three Fates—Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos—spinning and clipping the thread of a great man's life. In the same church the baptistery or font is removed almost out of sight, and when found has a very unworthy appearance. So natural is it for those improvements which exalt heathenism to debase Christianity. In our rural ornaments we have temples to all the Pagan deities. If a stranger were to judge of our religion from the practice of our poets and tragedians he would take Paganism for the established religion of the country." "The Earl of Chesterfield has given many directions which have been much admired of late years, but his rules are calculated to form the *petit-maître*, the *debauché*, or the insidious politician, with whom it would be totally unprofitable and even dangerous to converse. Christianity is the best foundation of what we call good manners, and of two persons who have equal knowledge of the world, he that is the best Christian will be the best gentleman." Of the novels of the day, the immoral compositions of Fielding and Smollett, Mr. Jones writes: "Nothing will please loose people but intrigues and loose adventures; nothing will please the unlettered profligate but blasphemous sneers upon religion and the holy Scriptures." Such novels "vitiates the taste, while they corrupt the manners; through a desire of captivating the imagination they fly above nature and reality. Their characters are overcharged, and their incidents boil over with improbabilities and absurdities."

27. The valuable work of this Christian divine and moralist did not escape the notice of the Primate, who presented him to a benefice. Happily for the Church of England there had now (1758) succeeded to the chief place in the episcopate one who was of a different cast of mind from his two predecessors (Herring and Hutton), who had been of the Latitudinarian, if not Arian school. Thomas Secker came, like Bishop Butler, of a dissenting family, and had originally studied medicine. Changing his views he

went to Oxford and took a degree there. By his marriage with a relation of Bishop Talbot he obtained good interest, and was rapidly advanced through the Sees of Bristol and Oxford to the Primacy. Secker was a High Churchman as Churchmanship was then understood, and is consequently designated by the Latitudinarians as "an imperious and persecuting prelate," a "fanatic," "insincere, and of moderate parts." He was a plain man and no courtier, and hence had but little influence in Church politics; but he did good service to the Church of England by checking Latitudinarians on the one hand and enthusiasts on the other, and by setting forth a pattern of plain Christian teaching, and stimulating activity and earnestness among the clergy. No man probably was better abused in his day, but that which drew upon him the fulness of the wrath of the careless and the loose thinkers was the honest attempt which he made to plant bishops in our American colonies. This was held to be such an intolerable piece of fanaticism and over-nicety that nothing was too bad to be said of the Primate,¹ even by such men as Watson the Cambridge Professor, and Archdeacon Blackburne. "Posterity will stand amazed," writes Secker's biographer, "when they are told that on this account his memory has been pursued in pamphlets and newspapers with such unrelenting rancour, such unexampled wantonness of abuse, as he would scarcely have deserved had he attempted to eradicate Christianity out of America and to introduce Mahometanism in its room; whereas the plain fact is that what he wished for was nothing more than what the best friends to religious freedom have ever wished for—a complete toleration for the Church of England in that country."²

28. Archbishop Secker, though sufficiently bold to advocate the sending bishops to the American colonies, did not extend his courage to the point of seeking for the revival of Convocation. It is highly probable that this might have been brought about at the beginning of the new reign (1761), but when the Synod met for the formal task of presenting the address, the archbishop showed himself decidedly averse to any attempt at proceeding to

¹ See Chap. V.

² Porteus's *Life of Secker*, p. 54.

business. He was indeed too ill to take a personal part in the proceedings, but he had prepared an *Oratio Synodalis*, which is to be found among his works, in which he says that those who desire the restoration of synodical action are ignorant of the nature of the times and the position of affairs. The deists and infidels, the Romanists and Dissenters, would, says the Primate, strive to set all things in confusion; many monstrous and wild opinions would be brought forward; if the Synod did little all men would deride their inactivity, if it did much all men would fear their restlessness and love of change.¹ On these feeble grounds the Church of England was defrauded of a great opportunity for setting right her position towards the Methodists and the Calvinistic clergy, who were both acting as though the Church of England consisted in a survival of certain documents prepared at the Reformation period, and had no living or corporate existence, and no voice. A "declaration" set out at this time by the Synod of the Church on the doctrines in dispute, especially on the proper test of the religious state, might have crushed the mischievous doctrine of personal assurance being the test of "conversion," a doctrine formally abandoned by Wesley himself, but which nevertheless reigned in full vigour in both the schools.²

29. But a more crying need for the action of Convocation as regards the Methodists, even than the enunciation of doctrine, arose at this time. The year 1760 was the turning-point in the history of Methodism in its relations to the Church. It was at this time that the lay preachers employed under the Wesleys began to take out licenses as dissenting teachers for themselves

¹ Secker's *Works*, v. 508.

² At the Conference of 1747 it was inquired, "Is justifying faith a divine assurance that Christ loved *me* and gave himself for *me*?" Answer, "We believe it is." "This," says Mr. Tyerman, "was unguarded language, and John Wesley himself soon felt it to be so. He wrote to his brother Charles: 'The assertion that justifying faith is a sense of pardon is contrary to reason. It is absurd. For how can the sense of our having received pardon be the condition of our receiving it?' Yet a little later he writes to his preachers: 'Keep to our one point. Present inward salvation by faith, by the divine evidence of sins forgiven.'"—Tyerman, i. 552, 561.

and their chapels, and to administer the Sacraments. The practice appears to have begun at Norwich, and as it was a flat contradiction to the original principles of the movement, and constituted almost formally a schismatical separation from the Church, it was regarded by Charles Wesley with horror and indignation. He writes to his brother: "We are come to the Rubicon; shall we pass or shall we not? . . . I am fully persuaded almost all our preachers are corrupted already. You must wink very hard not to see all this. You have connived at it too too long. But I now call on you to consider with me what is to be done; first to prevent a separation, secondly to save the few uncorrupted preachers, thirdly to make the best of those who are corrupted."¹ To Mr. Grimshaw of Haworth Charles Wesley writes bitterly, telling him of what had been done, and asserting distinctly, "My brother approves of it." Mr. Grimshaw at once replies, withdrawing from all connection with the Methodists, and saying, "The Methodists are no longer members of the Church of England. They are as real a body of dissenters from her as the Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, or any body of Independents."² The inevitable growth of the system had taken place which all thinking persons must have all along foreseen, except perhaps John Wesley himself, who resolutely refused to see it. Separation had begun, but had the Synods of the Church been in a position to vote that, in view of the great practical good which had been wrought by the movement, the bishops would be justified in ordaining such preachers as were competent, to *act as itinerants*,³ the final separation might yet have been averted. No individual bishop could do this of his own authority, but the Synods might have

¹ Tyerman, iv. 381.

² *Ib.* ii. 384. The registration of the chapels was not adopted as a regular practice till 1787, and it was not till 1795, after Mr. Wesley's death, that the Society formally sanctioned the administration of the holy communion in the chapels by the Wesleyan ministers. But there is no doubt that both of these practices had been long going on in an irregular way, and John Wesley either would not or could not cause their abandonment.

³ Mr. Abbey is of opinion that this could not be. The theology of Mr. Wesley was too far removed from that of the Church. "The

sanctioned it. By tacitly assenting to the celebration of the holy communion by his lay preachers, John Wesley did in fact sanction the separation of his Society from the Church. But every one who is at all familiar with his writings knows that he very frequently and very strongly wrote against this separation. A curious inconsistency thus arises between his practice and his writings. This will to a certain extent be removed if we examine the grounds on which Mr. Wesley argues that it is not desirable to separate from the Church. After giving a list of twelve of these reasons, which Mr. Wesley put out in 1768, his biographer remarks: "Mr. Wesley allows that the *lawfulness* of the Methodists to separate from the Church of England is a point which may fairly be debated; but he has no doubt that for them to separate is not *expedient*." Charles Wesley on the contrary held that it was not *lawful*.¹ Just as John Wesley had *tolerated* the administration of the Sacraments by his lay preachers, so did he *tolerate* female preaching. The practice began in 1761, and "was practised to the end of Wesley's life. To say the least, Wesley connived at it."²

30. The outburst of zeal and earnestness which was due to the work of the Wesleys and Whitefield stirred up others of the clergy to imitate them not only in their preaching, but also in their method of working, viz. by itinerating. Thinking themselves called to set at nought all ordinary rules of Church discipline, they entered without scruple the parishes of other clergy, whether friendly to them or not, and in some building, or in the open air, delivered their stirring appeals. This was done by Mr. Venn, vicar of Huddersfield, though he afterwards abandoned and disapproved of the practice; by Mr. Grimshaw of Haworth, who appears to have begun it antecedently to his connection with the Methodists; and by Mr. Berridge, vicar of Everton. This latter was a very remarkable person. "From his entrance at Clare Hall to his

strain would be too great to admit of any cordial union."—*English Church and its Bishops*, i. 289.

¹ Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, ii. 318.

² *Ib.* ii. 399.

acceptance of the vicarage of Everton, a period of twenty-one years, he regularly studied fifteen hours a day. His understanding was strong; his wit almost without parallel. His sentences were short, but not ambiguous; his ideas collected, but not crowded. His itinerant circuit embraced the counties of Bedford, Cambridge, Essex, Hertford, and Huntingdon. In this circuit, for more than twenty years, he preached upon an average from ten to twelve sermons a week, and frequently rode a hundred miles. In some places from ten to fifteen thousand persons composed his congregations. People came to hear him from a distance of twenty miles, and were at Everton by seven o'clock in the morning, at which early hour he preached. Four sermons on a Sunday were his regular work. Magistrates, country squires, and others, furiously opposed him. Houses and barns were rented for preaching; lay preachers were employed and maintained; his church income and the fortune inherited from his father were appropriated to the support and extension of the work, and even his family plate was converted into clothing for his itinerant preachers."¹ This good but eccentric man was on friendly terms with John Wesley, though they differed in their theological views, Mr. Berridge upholding the Calvinistic platform, as did almost all of the "awakened" clergy. Another famous itinerant was Rowland Hill, the son of a Shropshire baronet, who began his preaching career when an undergraduate at Cambridge, and in consequence had much difficulty in obtaining orders. At length he was ordained deacon by Dr. Wills, Bishop of Bath and Wells, but as his irregular proceedings continued he did not obtain advancement to the priesthood. He was a man of great determination, a witty vein, and most zealous piety; but unfortunately was led like others into very reprehensible bitterness in the Calvinistic controversy.

31. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the debt which the Church of England owes to John Wesley in respect of his teaching on absolute decrees, particular redemption, final perseverance, and the other doctrines involved in the

¹ Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, ii. 310.

Calvinistic controversy. Had it not been for the consistent opposition which he maintained to these views, and the strenuous battle fought by him and his assistants against them, the cause of spiritual religion in the Church of England might have been inseparably connected with an antinomian system, which impeaches the moral attributes of the Deity as much as it excludes the proper place of righteousness in man. The teaching of Whitefield, Romaine, Venn, Shirley, and others, reduced religion to a mere formula, in which, with various surroundings, the utter helplessness and misery of man and the sovereign grace of God are continually dwelt upon. No place is left for expansion, advance, progress, and the attainment of the higher life; and though the teachers of this bald religion were eminently devout persons, yet this practical inconsistency with their doctrine did not prove that it had not in it the most dangerous antinomian tendency. It was nearly thirty years after Mr. Wesley's first strong utterance on Calvinism in reply to Whitefield, when Mr. Toplady, vicar of Broad Hembury, thought fit to publish two tracts, which set forth in a most bitter and violent manner the doctrines of Calvinism.¹ These were answered by Mr. Sellon, but as yet Mr. Wesley did not interfere in the strife. However, in the Conference of next year (1770), in view of the antinomian tendencies which were everywhere being developed, it was thought necessary to put out some authoritative utterances for the Methodists on these points. It was declared by this assemblage, "That man must be faithful in working; that every believer works *for* as well as *from* life; that whoever repents must do works meet for repentance in order to obtain justification; that salvation is not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition*. We are rewarded *according* to our works, not *because* of our works. We are every hour and every moment pleasing or displeasing to God according to our works."² This bold utterance came

¹ "Church of England vindicated from the charge of Arminianism in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Nowell." "The Doctrine of absolute predestination stated, from the Latin of Jerom Zanchius."

² Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, iii. 72.

like a thunderbolt on the evangelical clergy, whose whole teaching had been based on the utter depravity and helplessness of man. Early in the year also Mr. Wesley answered Toplady's "Zanchius" in such a fashion that the most bitter strife was now inevitable.¹

32. After some preliminary skirmishing the war began by a circular addressed by Mr. Walter Shirley to all the "serious" (Calvinistical) clergy and laity whom he knew, asking them to meet at Bristol at the time of Mr. Wesley's next Conference (1771) to oppose the minutes made in 1770, which are said to be "injurious to the very fundamental principles of Christianity;" and to go in a body to the Conference and "insist on the formal recantation of the minutes," in default of which they were to publish a *protest*. Mr. Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, who received one of these circulars, and who had been the visitor of Lady Huntingdon's College at Trevecca, but had quitted this office on account of approving the minutes which her Ladyship so much disliked, prepared a work called *Checks to Antinomianism* in defence of the minutes. This was finished before the commencement of the Conference, and having been submitted to Mr. Wesley was sent by him to be printed. In the meantime the Conference met. Mr. Shirley's gathering also met, but it consisted of only about ten persons. His tone was now much lowered, and as he professed a wish for amicable arrangement, both sides signed a paper in which the *merit* of works is disclaimed, and justification is attributed to the "alone merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Wesley, of course, had never preached any other doctrine but this, but the signing of the paper at this time was perhaps a little insincere, inasmuch as he knew that Fletcher's *Checks*, fully justifying the minutes, were about to appear in print. On their publication Shirley retorted with considerable force on this and other points, and was

¹ His famous summary of the "Zanchius" is worth quoting—"The sum of all is this: one in twenty of mankind (suppose) are elected, nineteen in twenty are reprobated. The elect shall be saved, do what they will. The reprobate shall be damned, do what they can. Reader, believe this or be damned. Witness my hand, A——. T——."

answered by Fletcher in a *Second Check to Antinomianism*. Other writers soon joined in the fray, of whom more will be said in a following chapter. Suffice it to say here that scarce any controversy in our language, scarcely even the Mar-prelate tracts of the days of Elizabeth, is more full of anger, malice, and evil-speaking, than this.

33. At this period mob violence against the Methodists had ceased, and literary attacks were but few and far between. Whitefield was dead; Charles Wesley had ceased to itinerate; most of the clergy, who had been with John Wesley in his earlier work, had drawn off to the Calvinistic side. But the intrepid old man, though left almost alone, never for a moment relaxed his marvellous labours, and great success continued to attend his work. Harassed by domestic troubles, and by the constant failure of the instruments on which he most relied, he yet preached, itinerated, organised, reproved, wrote, without the least cessation of vigour. The country was permeated through and through by his bold campaigns against vice and sin. Every year Methodism was moving farther and farther away from its Church basis. But this he would not see, or, if he did, would not hold sufficient cause to stay the work. He contented himself with protests, and allowed the forces which he had called into existence to do their proper work. And it would be difficult to over-estimate the work which in fact they did, both in awakening the careless and brutalised people, and in provoking to jealousy the clergy who had been too careless and negligent at their posts.

CHAPTER V.

THE ANTI-SUBSCRIPTION MOVEMENT

1749-1772

1. A section of Latitudinarian clergy desire relief from subscription. 2. Publication of the "Free and Candid Disquisitions." 3. Reception of the book. 4. Answered by Mr. Bosworth. 5. Blackburne's Apology. 6. Archbishop Herring. 7. Bishop Butler's charge. 8. Attacked by Blackburne in the "Serious Enquiry." 9. Blackburne's letter to Herring against subscription. 10. Blackburne on the scheme of bishops for America. 11. Publication of the Confessional. 12. Answers to the book. 13. The proposals for an application to Parliament. 14. The petition drawn up. 15. Its reception in the country. 16. Its treatment in Parliament. 17. The petition to Archbishop Cornwallis.

1. WHILE the great movement inaugurated by the Wesleys was producing vast results in the Church, there was proceeding side by side with it another movement, with which it had no sympathy, and which threatened to rob the Church of dogma, as the doctrines of some of the revivalists threatened to obscure its practical teaching. The great latitude claimed and used by some of the clergy in interpreting and adopting the formularies of the Church,¹ did not satisfy the conscience of all those who were opposed to the doctrines and definitions of the Church. A more considerable section of the Latitudinarian clergy, uneasy under the restrictions which they felt to be condemnatory of their own teaching, desired to be freed altogether from the obligation entailed upon them by subscription to the Prayer Book and Articles. They desired also to bring about by authority a change in the formularies, and thus to approach nearer to what they were pleased to call a "rational" religion.

¹ See Chap. I. § 3.

2. About 1746 Mr. Jones, the vicar of Alconbury, a timid but well-meaning man, conceived the idea of making an attack upon what he considered the abuses of the Church system, by getting together from various hands a number of essays, to be published in one or two volumes under the name of "Free and Candid Disquisitions relating to the Church of England, and the means of advancing Religion therein," etc. The authorities both in Church and State were strongly opposed to any movement, not because they had any special reverence for the Church formularies, but because they dreaded a repetition of the ecclesiastical vigour displayed at the time of the Sacheverell trial. Mr. Jones, therefore, was nervously anxious to conceal his own work in the matter, and in great dread lest his handwriting should be recognised.¹ He procured an introduction from the pen of Dr. Middleton, and having got together a bundle of essays he placed the work in manuscript in the hands of a "very eminent and worthy prelate," with a request that he would lay it before Convocation at one of its formal meetings. Nothing was heard, however, from the prelate, and it was ultimately determined to print the work without further authorisation, as "Addressed to the Governing Powers in Church and State, and more immediately directed to the two Houses of Convocation."²

3. "The design of this book," says a contemporary notice, "is to point out such things in our ecclesiastical establishment as want to be reviewed and amended; a design truly excellent, and executed with great candour and modesty. The authors appear to be animated with a hearty concern for the interests of Christianity, and the honour and welfare of the Church of England; and they have in the most humble and respectful manner proposed such alterations to be made in her constitution as would greatly add to her glory and security, strengthen her interest, render her the object of our esteem, and the cement of our unity. It is much to be wished that the governors and guardians of the Church would take this matter into

¹ See the full account of the origin of the work in Nicholls's *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 585-598.

² Printed in 1749, for A. Millar, in the Strand, 8vo, 340 pp.

their serious consideration, and remove such things as, in the opinion of the wisest and best men the Church itself could ever boast of, are inconsistent with true Protestant principles, and greatly prejudicial to the interests of religion and virtue. This would be the greatest possible service they could do to the Church, would secure themselves a place in the esteem of every considerate and virtuous man, and make their names be transmitted with honour to the latest posterity.”¹ The book was received with a good deal of favour by the bishops, although they were careful enough not to take any steps to further the objects at which it aimed.² In fact, very few of them were at all in earnest about Church matters, while fewer still perhaps had sufficient liturgical knowledge to detect what would now be held the “monstrosity” of many of the proposals contained in these papers. On the other hand, the proposals by no means satisfied the more ardent reformers. Francis Blackburne (afterwards Archdeacon of Cleveland) “could not possibly conform his style to the milky phraseology of the *Disquisitions*; nor could he be content to have his sentiments mollified by the gentle qualifications of Mr. Jones’s pen. He thought it became disquisitors, with a cause in hand of such high importance to the influence of vital Christianity, rather to have boldly faced the utmost resentment of the class of men to which they addressed their work, than by meanly truckling to their arrogance to derive upon themselves their ridicule and contempt, which all the world saw was the case of these gentle suggesters, and all the return they had for the civility of their application.”³

4. The “Free and Candid *Disquisitions*” were not left without animadversion. They were “violently attacked by several High Church zealots, who thought, or affected to think, that any step towards a further reformation would lead to the utter subversion of the Church of England.”⁴ The most prominent among these writers was Mr. Bosworth, a clergyman and schoolmaster of

¹ *Monthly Review*, i. 198.

² *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 434.

³ Life of Blackburne, prefixed to his *Works*, p. xiv.

⁴ *Ib.*

Taunton, who published some letters containing "Remarks" on the publication, in which he displayed considerable learning and acquaintance with the Fathers of the Church. He says, with great justice, "The members of our Church in general were perhaps never at any time since the Reformation less able to give an answer to the objections made to our Liturgy than they are at present." Amidst this justly noted ignorance, it is satisfactory to find one who can describe the Prayer Book as "enriched with the most devout and unexceptional parts of ancient Liturgies, purged of all superstitious usages and corruptions of later ages, adorned with the most beautiful simplicity and propriety of diction. The Church is not wilfully conscious of any imperfections in her service, neither can others prove any upon her."¹

5. Mr. Bosworth was answered by Francis Blackburne in an "Apology" for the Disquisitions—a feeble and pointless performance, displaying neither learning nor power. Yet this miserable production was sufficient to recommend Blackburne so strongly to Hutton, Archbishop of York, that he made him Archdeacon of Cleveland. Henceforth Blackburne may be regarded as the leader of the Latitudinarian and Anti-Subscription party. His Apology had the effect of drawing forth from Mr. Bosworth a volume, described by Blackburne's biographer as "full of passionate abuse, and a waste of impertinent quotations from orthodox antiquity," and the controversy was continued by other hands.

6. It would seem that at this time any regard for orthodoxy among the leading Churchmen was extremely rare. Archbishop Potter, a respectable and learned prelate, had been succeeded in the Primacy by Thomas Herring (1747), Archbishop of York. Herring, if not actually an Arian, was yet an approver of Arianism. He commended Bishop Hoadley's *Plain Account*, and greatly praised Dr. Clarke's Arian Prayer Book.² From such a Primate no great opposition was to be expected to any Parliamentary change in

¹ Bosworth's "Remarks" quoted, Blackburne's *Works*, ii. 116.

² Herring's *Letters to Duncombe*, pp. 28, 111. Lindsey's *Historical View*, p. 236.

the Prayer Book, had not political reasons kept back the ministers from allowing it. Even Bishop Sherlock, one of the most churchmanlike of the prelates, is found apologising to Mr. Chandler, a dissenting minister, for unscriptural language in the formularies, and for the retention of the Athanasian Creed. Both he and the Primate, and probably all the rest of the bishops, were in favour of a scheme of comprehension.¹ The Church was only saved from this by the cautious timidity of statesmen.

7. Coincident with this disregard of orthodoxy and Church obligations was a grievous decay in morality and all regard for religion. About the middle of the century may be fixed upon as that of the lowest decadence. The religious societies had mostly fallen into decay. The work of the Methodists was as yet only generally effective and producing violent antagonism and scorn of religion. Bishop Butler, in his charge of 1751, commences by "lamenting the general decay of religion in the nation, which is now observed by every one, and has been for some time the complaint of all serious persons. The influence of it is more and more wearing out of the minds of men." The bishop very wisely attributed a great part of this decay to the falling off of the appliances of external religion—the dilapidated churches, unfrequent services, neglect of the teaching of the young; and he recommended, in a calm and temperate manner, greater attention to be paid to these things, and to all matters connected with the externals of worship, laying it down as an all-important principle that religion ought to be kept before the mind and the eyes of men.

8. It must needs strike us with astonishment in the present day that this very temperate charge should have evoked a violent protest from a clergyman, on the ground of its paying too great respect to external religion. Yet so it was. Archdeacon Blackburne judged some of its doctrines "so diametrically opposite to the principles on which the Protestant Reformation was founded and supported," that he felt called upon to write in answer to it a treatise of considerable length, entitled "A Serious Enquiry into the

¹ See Doddridge's *Correspondence*, v. 41, 167.

Use and Importance of External Religion." This treatise combines a Puritanical objection to forms, with the contempt felt for them by the man of the world. Its only important part is the evidence which it furnishes that the daily service of the Church, so frequent in Queen Anne's days, had then fallen into disuse, and that such ordinary ceremonial as "bowing to the east, turning the face to that quarter in repeating the creeds, dipping the finger in water and therewith crossing the child's forehead in baptism," were regarded as evidences of superstition.¹ Blackburne's pamphlet was published anonymously, and for some time the author was unknown. He was afterwards discovered by the vigilance of Archbishop Secker. There is no doubt that this attack of Blackburne's was the foundation of the utterly unfounded calumny that Bishop Butler died a member of the Church of Rome.

9. In 1750 Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, published his *Essay on Spirit*, which was a violent attack on the Athanasian Creed, and a demand for its excision, and for a general review of the Prayer Book, with a view of removing from it its testimony to the doctrine of the Trinity. To follow up this movement in aid of the "Free and Candid Disquisitions," Archdeacon Blackburne addressed a "Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury" (1754), in which he comments on the sad state of morals among the laity, and the utter inefficiency of the clergy, and attributes all the mischief to the evil practice of subscription to formularies, which, as he argues, need a drastic reform. Some passages in this letter are worth quoting, as being very illustrative of the state of the Church at that period. Blackburne says that the "author of the *Essay on Spirit*, and the writers who have seconded that performance, have set the *Athanasian Controversy* in so new and at the same time so striking a light, that a serious clergyman who should venture hereafter to subscribe to our common forms, without a competent search in the Scriptures whether those things are so, would probably, on reflection, find

¹ Blackburne's *Works*, i. 99. It can hardly have been the case that the prescribed ritual of baptism—signing with the cross—can have been generally neglected!

some difficulty to justify himself to his own heart. The truly conscientious clergy are anxious and discouraged. The arguments offered against the Creed, and many other things which occur in our daily ministrations, are plausible and, for aught we know, may be just and solid. . . . The Church will neither explain her doctrine to the people nor suffer them to acquiesce in their ignorance of it. . . . This conduct I call unreasonable, nay, I call it unchristian. . . . It is vain to say that these remonstrances are no more than the clamours and cant of some discontented and fanatical spirits." They are the opinions of many most considerable persons who desire a reformation to be made in the formularies by Parliament or Royal Commission. "They desire indeed to except against the Convocation, not merely for the sake of what has formerly happened in assemblies so called, but on account of a notion they entertain that our bishops and great Churchmen are disaffected to any reformation in the Church, and steadily determined to obstruct it, as far as in them lies, in every shape. . . . As to the clergy, the collective body of them, excepting a very inconsiderable number, consists of men whose lives and ordinary occupations are most foreign to their profession. We find among them all sorts of secular characters; courtiers, politicians, lawyers, merchants, usurers, civil magistrates, sportsmen, musicians, stewards of country squires, and tools of men in power, and even companions of rakes and infidels, not to mention the ignorant herd of poor curates; to whom the instruction of our common people is committed; who are accordingly, in religious matters, the most ignorant common people that are in any Protestant, if not in any Christian, society upon the face of the earth. . . . Is it astonishing that such a set of men as the Methodists should arise, and attempt to awaken the drowsy heads and alarm the stupefied hearts of our people, immersed as they are in all the secular security into which the doctrines and examples of their own pastors may, with too much probability, be supposed to have thrown them?" The archdeacon is of opinion that the evils of which he complains might be met more fittingly than by the labours of the Methodists, by a review of the Liturgy and the

conversion of the Church into an Arian body, and the doing away with the necessity for the clergy to accept even this by the removal of all subscriptions.¹

10. Blackburne was eager to show that subscription to the Articles and Liturgy meant a complete and *ex animo* acceptance of every part of the formularies, and he is thus found occupying a similar position in this matter to that of Waterland and the High Churchmen. It is acutely remarked by a writer on this subject, that "while abolition of subscription was proposed by some, revision of the Articles by others, no one, so far as it appears, proposed the more obvious alternative of modifying the wording of the terms in which subscription was made."² This way of settling the controversy was not likely to be proposed by Archdeacon Blackburne, from whose writings it abundantly appears that it was not from any goodwill to the Church that he handled this subject, but with a fixed desire to do away with all her distinctive character. Thus, in his sermon on Christmas Day, he stigmatises the Church as full of beggarly elements; and again writes vehemently against the proposal to send bishops to the American colonies, a project which, originally appearing in Archbishop Tenison's will³ (1715), had been revived by a letter of Archbishop Secker to Mr. Walpole (1751). Upon this letter Blackburne endeavours to pour the utmost contempt. He asserts that "all that is proposed by his Grace in sending bishops from hence is a mere empty chimerical vision which deserves not the least regard."⁴ How, he asks, if bishops were indeed needed for the existence of an Episcopal Church, is the conduct of some of our prelates at home to be explained? "We know," he says, "that the inhabitants of some of our dioceses are in this respect no better accommodated than the inhabitants of America for three parts of the year out of four. Shall we," he continues, "lay it down for a rule that it belongs to the

¹ Blackburne's *Works*, ii. 104 sq.

² Mr. Abbey in *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 442.

³ The archbishop left £1000 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel towards founding two bishoprics.

⁴ Blackburne's *Works*, ii. 19. See Chap. IV. § 27.

nature of Episcopal Churches that all their members should be confirmed? If it does not, the colonists may do without it. And that it does not appears from the practice, and indeed from the constitution, of the Church of England. In several dioceses there are no confirmations for several years."¹

11. The bitter tone towards Archbishop Secker observable in this letter was due to the persistent opposition with which that worthy and conscientious prelate had followed Blackburne for many years. As the author of the calumny against his dear friend Bishop Butler, the Primate had a very bad opinion of the archdeacon. As the centre and leader of the agitation and attacks upon the Church system, Secker regarded him as a dangerous and mischievous person; and when, after several years of incubation, Blackburne's great treatise, the *Confessional*, was given to the world anonymously in 1766, the Primate set machinery to work to discover the author (whom he, no doubt, had previously suspected), and having discovered him, employed the ablest pens he could command to answer this clever but mischievous work. The first part of the *Confessional* is devoted to showing the worthlessness of the Latitudinarian view of subscription, namely, that it was a general assent to the Church doctrine as a whole. This had been lately advocated by Dr. Powell in a sermon preached at Cambridge, to which Mr. Blackburne had replied at the time. This view in a modified form had indeed been defended by some of the best divines of the Church of England, who thought it possible to reconcile it with the terms in which subscription was then enforced.² Blackburne argues: "When the Church set forth these forms of words the usual literal construction of them was but one. If time and the mutability of language have given room for another usual literal construction of these words or forms the Church cannot help that, because she could not foresee it. They who understand both constructions (as all scholars do) know very well that the old one is the Church's construction; and therefore they who put

¹ Blackburne's *Works*, ii. 13.

² See *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 438.

the new construction upon the Church's old words or forms—they, I say, and not the compilers of the Articles, are the inaccurate persons, and as such are justly complained of for prevaricating." Having thus ruthlessly cut away the ground from many of his friends who had long satisfied themselves, or attempted to satisfy themselves, with Arian subscription,¹ the archdeacon advances victoriously, as he thinks, against the main fortress. He denies that Churches have any right to make confessions of faith, and asserts that the inalienable privilege of every one to believe as he pleases ought not to be interfered with. That these objectionable confessions, every one of which, according to Blackburne, contains "very material decisions from which an intelligent Christian may reasonably dissent," should be imposed as terms of qualification for office, and formal subscription required to them, is contended to be an abominable injustice and tyranny.

12. As a thorough exposition and elaborate defence of the Latitudinarian movement the *Confessional* deserves attention. No doubt it expressed the sentiments and had the concurrence of a great number of the clergy of that day, among whom the honourable names of Drs. Edmund Law and Paley may be reckoned. It was, however, extremely distasteful to all sections of the revivalists. These earnest men saw clearly enough in which direction the movement was running—viz. towards Arianism, Unitarianism, and infidelity. The alleged "burden" of subscription was, in their view, only an attack upon the great doctrines of the faith by a side-wind. And that they were right in their views the secessions from the Church upon the failure of the movement abundantly showed. Archbishop Secker, to whose orthodoxy these wild notions were utterly repulsive, procured, as has been said, answers to be written to the *Confessional*. Of these that by Dr. Gloucester Ridley appears to have been the one which best satisfied the archbishop. It is even asserted that the first of the "Three Letters to the Author of the *Confessional*" was the composition of the archbishop himself.

¹ See Chap. II. § 5.

13. The orthodox Secker was succeeded in the Primacy by a prelate of a different type, the Hon. Frederick Cornwallis, translated from Lichfield and Coventry (1768). Archbishop Cornwallis appears to have had no Churchmanlike scruples, and was simply of the character of a great nobleman about the Court. Encouraged by this, and by the considerable favour which his book had received, Blackburne, who had always hitherto preferred to strike in the dark, dropped his anonymous position so far as to initiate a practical movement towards the abolition of subscription. He drew up "Proposals for an application to Parliament for relief in the matter of subscription to the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles of the Established Church of England, humbly submitted to the consideration of the learned and conscientious clergy of the said Church" (first printed 1771). This document assumes that the "Protestant Reformation" was founded on the unlimited right of private judgment—an idea which certainly never entered into the head of its original promoters—repeats the common error as to Archbishop Laud's having altered the Articles; and laying it down that "orthodoxy" would be sufficiently provided for by the declaration of belief in the Scriptures, makes proposals for a meeting to draw up a petition to Parliament, which, having been submitted to another general meeting and approved, should then be circulated in the country for signatures, during six, eight, or ten months, and, when sufficient signatures should have been obtained, be presented to Parliament.

14. The meetings proposed took place at the Feathers Tavern in the Strand,¹ where a petition to Parliament was agreed upon, which asserts that "the petitioners have a natural right, and are also warranted by the original principles of the reformation from Popery on which the Church of England is constituted, to judge in searching the Scriptures what may or may not be proved thereby. That they find themselves, however, in a great measure precluded this invaluable privilege by the laws relating to subscription, whereby your petitioners are required to

¹ The first meeting was held July 17, 1771.—See Belsham's *Memoirs of Lindsey*, p. 48.

acknowledge certain articles and confessions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men, to be all and every of them agreeable to the said Scriptures. Your petitioners therefore pray that they may be relieved from such an imposition upon their judgment, and be restored to their undoubted rights as Protestants of interpreting the Scriptures for themselves without being bound by any human explications thereof, or required to acknowledge by subscription or declaration the truth of any formulary whatsoever beside Holy Scripture itself."¹ It does not apparently occur to the petitioners that the relief which they seek might at once be obtained by leaving the Church of England, or that the rights of the laity to have a test of the orthodoxy of their teachers were at all to be considered.

15. The petition, having been long diligently circulated in the country, obtained something over two hundred signatures, and with this meagre number of names was presented to the House of Commons by Sir W. Meredith, February 6, 1772. Many of the signatures attached were those of Deists, Socinians, and Arians.² There were no signatures of any weight, save that of the eccentric archdeacon. Bishop Law approved of it, but did not sign. So did Dr. Watson and Dr. Paley, but they were far too politic to commit themselves. Blackburne said bitterly that his friends had added a fortieth article to the thirty-nine, consisting only of two words—namely, *Public peace*. The Evangelicals were violent against it. Mr. Romaine declared that he would never again mount a pulpit if it were received. Blackburne says of the Methodists: "Their zeal is uncharitable and their sentences of condemnation outrageous. Till this execrable petition turned the fire-edge of the orthodox another way, our pulpits echoed with the most furious invectives against their heresies, delusions, and insanity; and they had been now absolutely out of credit if one of these chemical occasions which combines the most jarring elements had not come upon the Church militant, and obliged her to take in these pietists as asso-

¹ Blackburne's *Works*, vii. 16.

² *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 440.

ciates in their opposition to the anti-subscriptionists, on a compact, we may suppose, that while the Church connives at their Calvinistical divinity, the Methodists shall be equally tender of affronting Arminian morality.”¹

16. On the presentation of the petition in the House of Commons its rejection was moved by Sir Roger Newdegate, member for the University of Oxford. Mr. Fitzmaurice said :—“If the petitioners were in earnest about a reformation, why did they not first apply to the King? Why not to the bishops? His majesty, if properly solicited, would no doubt have called the Convocation, and allowed it to take their case into consideration. Had they been baffled in this attempt, yet still they should have applied not to us but to the Upper House, where they might have had the assistance of the bishops, men who have made divinity their particular study.” Mr Burke said :—“These gentlemen complain of hardships. No considerable number show discontent; but in order to give satisfaction to any number of men who come in so decent and constitutional mode before us, let us examine a little what that hardship is. They want to be preferred clergymen of the Church of England as by law established, but their consciences will not allow them to conform to the doctrines and practices of that Church; that is, they want to be teachers in a Church to which they do not belong. This is an odd sort of hardship. They want to receive the emoluments appropriated for teaching one set of doctrines while they are teaching another. The laws of toleration provide for every real grievance which these gentlemen can rationally complain of. If they do not like the establishment, there are an hundred different modes of dissent in which they may teach. But even if they are so unfortunately circumstanced that of all that variety none will please them, they have free liberty to assemble a congregation of their own; and if any persons think their fancies worth paying for, they are at liberty to maintain them as their clergy—nothing hinders it. But if they cannot get an hundred people together who will pay for their reading a liturgy after their form, with what face can they insist on the nation’s conforming

¹ Blackburne’s *Works*, vii. 88.

to their ideas, for no other visible purpose than for enabling them to receive with a good conscience the tenth part of the produce of your lands?" The proposal that the petition be received and considered was negatived by 217 against 71.¹

17. It was owing to this rejection that another scheme originated, in which the course pointed out by Mr. Fitzmaurice was followed. It was probably intimated by Archbishop Cornwallis that he would receive favourably a petition for the revision of the Liturgy, and in consequence a petition to this effect was presented to the Primate in 1772. This is distinctly said by Mr. Toplady "to have originated at Lambeth," and he speaks with terror of the "new Lambeth Articles" as being likely to be of a very different type from those of 1595.² But the archbishop probably found that his suffragans were not at all inclined to support him. The bishops were against it, not because they were opposed to changes as Churchmen, but because of their dread of disturbing the public peace,³ and in this view they were strongly supported by the ministers. Thus through the timidity and apathy of those in high places, and the practical good sense of the House of Commons, the Church of England escaped a grievous danger, for the mischief which might have been wrought by a review of her Prayer Book and Articles in those days of superficial knowledge and feeble spiritual life is absolutely incalculable.

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, xvii. 245, 297; Belsham's *Memoirs of Lindsey*, p. 53; Lord Mahon's *History of England*, v. 301 (ed. 1858).

² Toplady to Dr. B., quoted *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, i. 442.

³ See Blackburne's *Works*, vii. 75.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARLIER EVANGELICALS

1772-1800

1. The Calvinistical clergy separate from the Wesleyans. 2. Rev. Augustus Toplady. 3. Rev. William Romaine. 4. Rev. Henry Venn. 5. Lady Huntingdon. 6. Illegality of the clergy officiating in her chapels declared. 7. Bishop Porteus. 8. Upholds the law as regards Lady Huntingdon's chapels. 9. Sunday schools. 10. William Cowper and John Newton. 11. Milner's *Church History*. 12. Rev. Thomas Scott. 13. Rev. Charles Simeon. 14. The work of the Evangelical clergy. 15. William Wilberforce. 16. Hannah More. 17. Missions to the heathen. 18. Foundation of the Church Missionary Society. 19. Moderate Calvinism.

1. FROM the time of the breaking out of the Calvinistical controversy a complete separation may be regarded as established between the followers of John Wesley and the "serious" or "evangelical" clergy. Almost the whole of these latter adopted the Calvinistical views, and were disposed to side with Toplady and Rowland Hill rather than with the first great originator of the revival movement of which they were now reaping the benefit. There were a few exceptions, such as Mr. Perronet, the vicar of Shoreham, and John Fletcher of Madeley, Mr. Wesley's faithful friend and champion. But the main body of these clergy, who now amounted to a considerable number, had no sympathy with Wesleyan teaching, and did not scruple to say some very hard things of it. As regards irregularity, the peregrinations of Mr. Berridge and Mr. Rowland Hill were quite as irregular as those of Mr. Wesley, and there was much more sympathy between them and the Dissenters proper than existed between Mr. Wesley and the Dissenters, of whom he always seems to have had a very poor opinion. The organ of the Calvinists was the *Gospel Magazine*, which

denounced Mr. Wesley in most unmeasured language, charging him with "low scurrility and illiberal abuse," with having "horribly blasphemed and daringly given the lie to the God of truth," and reviving the absurd old calumny of his being a Romanist; charging him with vulpine cunning and unlimited powers of deception.¹ The editor of this magazine was the Rev. Augustus Toplady, who was one of the most violent assailants of Mr. Wesley.

2. Mr. Toplady, a son of a major in the army, was born at Farnham in Surrey, in the year 1740. Educated at Westminster, he went to reside with his mother in Ireland, and received his first strong religious impressions from one of Mr. Wesley's preachers. In a letter written from Trinity College, Dublin, he acknowledges his great obligations to Mr. Wesley. After his ordination he first held the living of Blagdon in Somersetshire, then that of Broad Hembury, and during the latter part of his life was preacher at the French Protestant Church in London. Not only in the *Gospel Magazine*, which so violently abused Wesley, but in other controversial works also, he assailed him with intense bitterness and scurrility. His conduct is an absolute enigma. Passing for a strictly religious man, and having the power to put forth such noble hymns as for instance the "Rock of Ages," he yet could (in 1772) thus write of one who had spent his life in evangelising his country, and to whom he himself owed his religious awakening. "Time, sir, has already whitened your locks, and the hour must shortly come which will transmit you to the tribunal of that God on whose sovereignty a greater part of your life has been one continued assault. The part you have been permitted to act in the religious world will, sooner or later, sit heavy on your mind. Depend upon it a period will arrive when the Father's electing mercy and the Messiah's admirable righteousness will appear in your eyes, even in yours, to be the only safe anchorage for a dying sinner. I mean, unless you are actually given over to final obduration, which I trust you are not, and to which I most ardently beseech God you never may."² This

¹ Tyerman's *Life of J. Wesley*, iii. 105, 106.

² Toplady, "More work for John Wesley"—concluding paragraph.

passage will illustrate the almost inconceivable self-complacency of the clergy of this school. They were too shallow and unlearned, both in theology and philosophy, to know their own weakness, to distrust for a moment the theory which they had adopted, or to be candid towards an opponent. It is well remarked by Mr. Fletcher, "A gray-haired minister of Christ, an old general in the armies of Emmanuel, a father who has children capable of instructing even masters in Israel, one whom God made the first and principal instrument of the late revival of true religion in Israel, should have met with more consideration."¹ Mr. Toplady died young, in the highest esteem with the members of his party. It must at least be allowed that he was not happy as a controversialist.

3. The most conspicuous perhaps, and the most influential among the Calvinistical clergy at this period, was William Romaine, lecturer at St. Dunstan's, and principal adviser and helper of Lady Huntingdon. In Romaine's teaching Calvinism appeared in its most advanced form. The "law" was constantly disparaged. Believers were told that they were not bound to keep it in order to salvation.² Final perseverance, and the impossibility of a believer falling from grace, are prominently put forward;³ and though doubtless holy living was recommended, and was practised in a signal way by the preacher himself, yet its place in the scheme of salvation seems to be perilously weakened, and hence we are not surprised to learn that Romaine made many Antinomians.⁴

4. A more cautious and more moderate teacher was Henry Venn, vicar of Huddersfield and afterwards of Yelling, also a great friend and ally of Lady Huntingdon. Venn began his ministerial life as an Arminian, an itinerant,

¹ Fletcher's *Checks* quoted in *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, ii. 161.

² "Remember thou art not required to obey in order to be saved for thine obedience, but thou art already saved."

³ "He cannot cease to be a Father, and they cannot cease to be His children, for if one of them could, they all might."—Romaine on *Faith*.

⁴ *Life of Wilberforce*, quoted *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, ii. 180.

and a friend of John Wesley, but he gradually adopted the Calvinistic theory. This, however, he was content to hold without pushing it to its logical results. "It was not the result of a theory embraced by reading books of that class. He did not attempt to reconcile the difficulties he found in that system; he did not enforce, as necessary, upon the conscience of others those particular views which he had himself imbibed; he did not break the bond of brotherly love and union with those of his friends who were still zealous Arminians; and, above all, it did not lead him to relax in his views of the necessity or the nature of holiness. On the contrary, he urged the practice of it most effectually from what he conceived to be stronger and purer motives."¹ This moderate and illogical Calvinism did not in fact clash much with the Wesleyan theology, which attributed the work of salvation quite as much to the grace of God as the Calvinist did. The controversy which raged between the two bodies was on some points more verbal than real, but there were still other points on which agreement could not be hoped for, as the nature of the decrees, final perseverance, and sinless perfection.

5. The great upholder and helper of the Calvinistical clergy was, as has been indicated, Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, around whom a remarkable body of men was grouped; and who, in unwearied labours in the cause of religion and in powers of organisation, almost equalled John Wesley himself. Lady Huntingdon did not absolutely identify herself with the Whitefield movement, though she remained on terms of the closest friendship with Whitefield till his death, and altogether symbolised with him. She built chapels, organised a college for training preachers, made appointments, procured funds, and did all that was necessary for supporting a regular teaching body. And together with this she brought around her a considerable number of clergy, whom she appointed as her chaplains, and who, it was thought, by this means might legally preach in unconsecrated buildings, and intrude as they pleased into the parishes of other clergy. She did not desire to separate from the Church of England, but she

¹ *Memoir of Rev. H. Venn*, p. 32.

seems to have been impressed with the opinion that it was her mission to order and arrange the Church according to her will. In this spirit she did not hesitate to rebuke Archbishop Cornwallis for the large and gay parties which he gave at Lambeth, and, when the Primate received her remonstrances rather angrily, to lay her complaints before the King. George III. was much impressed by her, and did not fail to reprimand the archbishop;¹ and in fact the lady's personal influence must have been extraordinary, as so many of the nobility were attracted by her, and readily attended the sermons which were habitually preached in her drawing-room. The centre of a zealous coterie to whom her word was law, and conscious of her own devout motives, this good lady did not sufficiently consider the disturbing element she was introducing into the Church by the formation of a clique, who by means of the privileges attaching to her station might override all ecclesiastical law and order, and, instead of furthering, effectually prevent the real improvement of the Church.

6. At length a stop was put to the irregular proceedings of the Calvinistical clergy in connection with Lady Huntingdon's chapels by the action of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The mover in this matter was violently assailed and denounced, but it does not appear that he did anything more than take the necessary measures for the defence of his parish. The circumstances were as follows: A large building called the Pantheon, situated in Spafields, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, had become disused from its original purpose of a pleasure resort, and was offered to Lady Huntingdon for purchase as a chapel. Acting on Mr. Toplady's advice she at first declined it, when it was taken by a company of gentlemen, apparently as a speculation, who engaged two clergymen, Mr. Jones and Mr. Taylor, to officiate in it under the name of Northampton Chapel. They brought together a large congregation there, upon which the vicar of the parish, Mr. Sellon, made a claim of certain rights, viz. that he should have the right of the nomination of the ministers and the power to officiate in the chapel when

¹ *Life of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 280 sq.

he pleased, that a certain sum should be paid to him yearly, and that the money collected at the offertory should be handed over to him. The proprietors of Northampton Chapel not agreeing to these rather hard terms, Mr. Sellon proceeded against the officiating clergy in the Consistorial Court, and obtained an inhibition restraining them from officiating in his parish. Lady Huntingdon, indignant at this, now entered into negotiations for the purchase of the chapel, which was sold to her by the "company of gentlemen," and opened as one of the chapels of her connection under the name of Spafields Chapel. "As a peeress of the realm," writes her biographer, "the Countess supposed that she had a right to employ her own chaplains at any time and place in the most public manner."¹ But this eccentric view of Church authority was not sanctioned by the Courts, which immediately, on the application of Mr. Sellon, censured any clergy who ventured to officiate in the chapel, this being an unconsecrated building, and the consent of the vicar of the parish not being obtained. Lady Huntingdon, much to her annoyance, was thus deprived of the help of her favourite clergy, and was obliged to register her chapels and take advantage of the Toleration Act (1781)—the clergy who now officiated in them becoming seceders from the Church and ranking as Dissenters. The greater part of the clergy who had acted with Lady Huntingdon now withdrew, not from friendship with their former patroness, but from officiating in her chapels; and her "connection" became a dissenting body as the Wesleyan connection did. By Lady Huntingdon's will certain trustees were appointed to superintend and administer the connection, and very considerable legacies were left for the purpose of its support. The college for training ministers for the connection, which was originally at Trevecca, was removed to Cheshunt.

7. The action of the Church Courts in putting a stop to the irregular ministrations of the clergy in Lady Huntingdon's chapels was much denounced at the time as a piece of intolerable persecution. It redounds therefore much to the credit of the prelate, who was then looked up

¹ *Lady Huntingdon's Life*, ii. 309.

to as the great patron and supporter of the Evangelical body, that he took a firm and decided stand against this irregularity. The Church of England indeed owes a vast debt of gratitude to Bishop Porteus, and his occupancy of the See of London may be regarded as one of the most valuable aids to the improvement which everywhere began to manifest itself towards the end of the eighteenth century. Translated from Chester to London in 1787 at the express desire of the King, he soon made his influence felt in every direction throughout his vast diocese. His gentle manners, great powers as a preacher, simple and straightforward oratory, and indomitable perseverance, brought about many notable reforms. He was the means of abolishing the desecration of the Lord's Day by the public Promenades (as they were called) and Atheistical Debating Societies. He was the first to raise his voice and use his influence for conceding Christian teaching and better treatment to the slaves in the West India Islands. He feared not to remonstrate with the leaders of fashion, and even with the heir to the throne, as to customs sanctioned by them; he successfully resisted simoniacal practices among his clergy, and enforced residence; while by his resolute determination not to license persons of doubtful character to foreign chaplaincies he did much for raising the character of the Church in the colonies. So high did his character stand that he succeeded in almost everything he attempted either in Parliament or outside, and so popular was his preaching that at the Lent lectures which he delivered at St. James's, Westminster, the eagerness to obtain places in the church was unparalleled.

8. This great and good prelate, who, holding what may be termed strong Evangelical views, was looked upon by many as far too favourable to the Methodists, has nevertheless left on record a strong censure of the confusion and mischief produced by itinerant preachers, and flatly refused to allow the ministrations in his diocese of one who, though in holy orders, was yet connected with Lady Huntingdon's chapels. "As I understand," he writes, "that Dr. Draper was what you represent him to be—a man of piety and a good preacher—it gave me, I assure you, no

small pain to feel myself under the necessity of excluding him from the pulpits of my diocese, but his own conduct rendered it in me an indispensable duty. Instead of confining himself, which as a minister of the Church of England he ought to have done, to the celebration of divine service in places of worship licensed or consecrated by his diocesan, and authorised by law, he chose to become a president of a college and preacher in a chapel founded by Lady Huntingdon for the purpose of training up lay preachers for conventicles licensed as dissenting meeting-houses. Lady Huntingdon, though a pious woman, was unquestionably not a member of the Church of England, but what is strictly and properly so called, a Methodist, professing the doctrines of one of the first founders of Methodism, George Whitefield, and educating young men to preach those doctrines without episcopal ordination. There could not, therefore, be a more injudicious and offensive measure, or one more hostile to the Church of England, than to become the president of such a college, and the preacher in such a chapel founded for such purposes. . . . I never can consent that any clergyman in my diocese should so divide himself between sectarianism and the Establishment—between the Church of England and the Church of Lady Huntingdon. . . . I will vigorously resist the invasion of unauthorised preachers upon our parish churches. I will not shrink from the duties of my station, but will maintain the discipline and good order of that ecclesiastical constitution, of which I am bound to be a vigilant and faithful guardian, and to exercise that authority, with which the laws of the land and the canons of the Church have invested me for that purpose.”¹ Such an utterance as this coming from a prelate of the character and in the position of the Bishop of London was most valuable. There had been enough of irregular revivalists; the Church might now recognise that the true path of progress was the path of order. John Wesley, by assuming to act as a bishop to ordain ministers, and even consecrate bishops, was distinctly in a state of schism. Lady Huntingdon had formally separated from the Church. The

¹ Hodgson's *Life of Porteus*, p. 267 sq.

clergy who now worked with either of these leaders were guilty of disorder, and were in fact retarding the true progress of the Church.

9. One means for raising the religious condition of the people, which was approved by Bishop Porteus, and strongly patronised by the evangelical clergy, was the establishment of Sunday Schools. There are some traces of these earlier in the century, but about 1781 they were brought into general notice by Mr. Raikes, a bookseller at Gloucester, and Mr. Stock, a clergyman in that city. They were regarded at first with somewhat of suspicion and dislike by many of the clergy. Bishop Porteus himself was slow in giving them his full approval. "As an act of prudence," says his biographer, "he was determined not to give them the sanction of his public approbation till time and experience and more accurate inquiry had enabled him to form a more decided judgment of their real value and probable effects. When, however, repeated information from various quarters, and particularly from some of the largest manufacturing towns in his diocese, had convinced him that such institutions, wherever fairly tried, had produced, and could not fail to produce, if discreetly regulated, essential benefit, he no longer hesitated in promoting them generally throughout his diocese."¹ That so obvious and simple an expedient for the instruction of the young should not have been brought into use earlier seems matter for astonishment. But it must be remembered that the practice of catechising the children in the afternoon service had not wholly ceased, and it might seem to some that this provided a sufficient method for teaching the young the rudiments of the faith. Mr. Rowland Hill is said to have been the first introducer of Sunday Schools into London, and took occasion in a sermon to answer some rather absurd objections made to them by Horsley, Bishop of Rochester, who thought they might be dangerously used for political purposes.²

10. While Bishop Porteus may be fairly regarded as the episcopal leader of the evangelical clergy, William

¹ Hodgson's *Life of Porteus*, p. 92.

² Sidney's *Life of R. Hill*, p. 337.

Cowper may certainly be reckoned as their poet. It has even been said that Cowper "contributed in this way more towards the spread of the evangelical revival, than even Whitefield did with all his burning eloquence, or Wesley with all his indomitable energy."¹ The unhappy history of the poet, his overpowering nervousness terminating in insanity, his sudden and absolute retirement, gave a special interest to his productions, and doubtless his hymns and religious poems came with a peculiar force and charm to many. But Cowper, when at his best, is not a religious poet, but a satirist of uncommon power and sting, and a humorist of unsurpassable lightness of touch.² Hence he reached a public which would not have read his hymns, and did something towards making strong religious impressions appear respectable in the eyes of even the careless and the scoffer. At Olney Cowper had for his friend and pastor John Newton, once a slave-dealer and a most profligate character, but after his conversion a vigorous and devoted Christian minister; the author of many beautiful hymns and devotional works, and the friend and adviser of most of the leading evangelicals of his day. From the little town of Olney, in Buckinghamshire, there went out a stream of influence which reached the whole Church of England.

11. The learned men of the earlier evangelical movement were the two Milners, the elder brother a clergyman at Hull, the younger a distinguished tutor at Cambridge, and afterwards Dean of Carlisle. Though deeply interested in the evangelical movement around him, Joseph Milner was yet not prepared to ignore all the Christian history of the past, or to hold that it was reserved for the latter part of the eighteenth century, and for a set of men not specially distinguished for their talents or insight, to discover truth previously unknown. He therefore determined to attempt a history of the Church from its commencement. But in

¹ *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, ii. 197.

² Mr. Overton dissents from this view of Cowper's Poems. He "claims the whole of Cowper's original poetry for the Evangelical Revival." "Abstract the religious element from his compositions and they all fall to pieces."—*Evangelical Revival*, p. 127.

doing this he adopted a principle singularly characteristic of the party to which he belonged. He deliberately proposed to write a *History by selection*, choosing only such facts and characters as were pleasing to him, as having some element of grace in them, and omitting the rest. In his introduction he says, "It is certain that from our Saviour's time to the present there have ever been persons whose dispositions and lives have been formed by the rules of the New Testament; men who have been real, not nominal Christians. It is the history of these men which I propose to write; I intend not to enter with any nicety into an account of their rites and ceremonies or forms of Church government, much less into their secular history. Even religious controversies shall be omitted. . . . Nothing but what appears to me to belong to Christ's kingdom shall be admitted; genuine piety is the only thing that I intend to celebrate." The book should rather have been entitled "Illustrations of the Christian faith from Church history" than a Church history, which is a description of it altogether misleading. The work itself, setting aside what the author calls his "new plan," deserves much commendation. It is well written, shows considerable research and scholarship, and is very fair. The principal part of the book was written by Joseph Milner, the latter part by his more distinguished brother.

12. Among the more learned of the earlier evangelicals may also perhaps be reckoned Thomas Scott, the author of a long and verbose commentary on the Holy Scriptures. Mr. Scott was curate of Olney, in succession to Newton, and chaplain of the Lock Hospital, and in both these cures he had to contend against a dangerous and self-satisfied antinomian spirit, which had grown up from that contemptuous depreciation of good works proper to some of the Calvinistical school. For his honest and bold utterances, which were directly opposed to his temporal interests, Scott deserves the very highest credit. "The brave man cared little for obloquy or desertion, or even the prospect of absolute starvation, when the cause of practical religion was at stake. There is very little doubt that it was. Many who called themselves Calvinists were making the doctrines

of grace a cloak for the vilest hypocrisy; and the noble stand which Scott made against these deadly errors gives him a better claim to the title of 'Confessor' than many to whom the name has been given."¹

13. But considerably before the end of the century the eyes of all the evangelicals were turned towards Cambridge, and recognised in a young divine, forcing himself into conspicuous notice there, a leader and champion in whom they could trust. The beginnings of Charles Simeon, Fellow of King's, were, by his own admission, anything but judicious. "In my preaching," he writes, "I endeavoured to approve myself to God with fidelity and zeal; but I do not now think I did it in a judicious way. I thought that to declare the truth with boldness was the one object which I ought to keep in view; and this is a very general mistake among young ministers. My mind being ill-informed my topics were necessarily few. . . . Were I now to enter on a new sphere I would endeavour to *win* souls, and speak to them the truth in *love*; not considering so much what I was able to say, as what they were able to receive."² The manner of Mr. Simeon at this early stage of his ministry was excited and vehement, his denunciations terrible. His parishioners complained to the bishop that he frightened them. They locked their pews and kept away from church, and the congregation of poor people who flocked to hear him was constantly disturbed by drunken and noisy undergraduates, who came to interrupt and scoff. But the man was of too powerful a strain to be put down by these things. He reconciled his people; he awed and then conciliated the undergraduates; he speedily became a power in the university, and applying himself to a duty which was then eminently needed, he became the instructor of large classes of undergraduates in Scripture and theology, and in fact the founder of a school.

14. The number of evangelical clergy had now considerably increased, and their ministrations were generally attended by large congregations. There was not, however, in their work the element of power for reviving and in-

¹ *English Church in Eighteenth Cent.*, ii. 206.

² *Life of Simeon*, by Carus, p. 64.

vigorating the Church at large. Many of their hearers were more inclined to place religion in the frequent hearing of sermons, and the disparagement of good works, than in the raising of the whole life and actions to a genuine Christian standard. To the man of the world, and to the young, their ministrations were repulsive. They affected a peculiar phraseology; they imagined everything which happened to them to be a special providence; they sometimes used great familiarity in speaking of the most holy things; they tried to *improve* every event in season and out of season; they drew a hard-and-fast line between the "converted" and the "unconverted." None of them, so far as appears, had conceived the notion that the society to which they belonged was anything more than an "establishment." Hence Mr. Simeon in Scotland preaches in the Presbyterian chapels, conducts the service on the Presbyterian model, and receives the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper from the Presbyterian minister. His defence for this practice is, that if the King attends these places of worship in Scotland, a clergyman of the English Church may minister in them.¹ Yet so illogical was this good man's mind that he found grievous fault with any of his own congregation going to the ministrations of Dissenters.² The evangelicals, however, did a great work for the Church in setting the example of intense vigour and earnestness, and love for Scripture. They doubtless shamed many that were negligent into greater diligence, and kept attached to the Church numbers that would otherwise have been led away into some form of dissent. Had they been less conventional and more genial, their influence might have been more largely diffused, but it would have lacked, perhaps, the power which it exerted over their attached followers. Of the laity who symbolised with this earnest band of clergy, many were conspicuous for their useful and admirable works.

15. Among the foremost of these must be placed the noble philanthropist, William Wilberforce, who derived his

¹ "I look upon it as an incontrovertible position that where the King *must* attend, a clergyman *may* preach."—*Life*, by Carus, p. 113.

² *Ib.* p. 141.

strong religious impressions from the teaching and conversation of the two Milners, Mr. Newton and Mr. Venn, and who, leaving the field of general politics, devoted his singular powers and great influence entirely to religious and philanthropic objects. The societies for the reformation of manners, which had been active in the earlier part of the century but had fallen into abeyance, were revived by his exertions; and with steadfast mind and untiring zeal he set himself to roll away from the Church and nation the fearful reproach of the iniquitous slave-trade. A society with this object existed under the direction of Messrs. Sharp and Clarkson. To this Wilberforce joined himself, and by his labours and his influence, but especially by his splendid orations in Parliament, educated and formed public opinion to appreciate the full horrors of the traffic, and early in the next century he was destined to see his great work crowned with success. The Church had been as guilty as the State in this matter. When Bishop Porteus, preaching before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, pressed upon its members their duty, not to emancipate, but simply to teach and convert the slaves on their estates in Barbadoes, his suggestions were treated with a somewhat contemptuous rejection.¹ George Whitefield bought slaves for his orphan-house in Georgia, and considered the institution of slavery a valuable and defensible one. Christian opinion had hardly been roused at all to see the iniquity of slavery, until the speeches and popularity of Mr. Wilberforce at length touched it; nor were Mr. Wilberforce's benefits to the men of his day confined to the teaching them to abhor slavery. In his very popular and useful religious work, *The Practical View*, he held up the glass of genuine Christianity to the "higher and middle classes," and did very much for the favourable and right estimation of evangelical truth among men of the world who would never be reached by the sermons of the most eloquent divines.

16. Mr. Wilberforce, in the estimation of scoffers, was regarded as a member of what was contemptuously called "The Clapham Sect." At Clapham a famous evangelical divine,

¹ Hodgson's *Life of Porteus*, p. 87.

the Rev John Venn, was the rector, and there a wealthy layman, devoted to good works, John Thornton, the banker, had his villa. Clapham thus became a centre of evangelicalism, and often might be seen in its church, listening to Mr. Venn's preaching, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Teignmouth, as well as the famous and popular orator, Wilberforce. Mr. Thornton and his son Henry gave striking examples to the moneyed and business men of their day by their splendid liberality, while another class, that of the literary coteries, was touched by the writings of Miss Hannah More, a lady who bore no small part in the religious revival of her time. If to Samuel Johnson must be given the credit that he "stemmed the tide of infidelity, and enlisting wit and eloquence together with argument and learning on the side of revealed religion, first turned the literary current in its favour,"¹ certainly no small share in carrying on and deepening these impressions belongs to Hannah More. Having gained the ear of the literary world by her plays, she instructed both the educated and the uneducated by her religious writings. Her simple tracts have perhaps never been excelled, while the fact that she was the fashion enabled her to reach a circle which, as John Newton told her, "would hardly read anything of a religious kind not written by her." Her *Thoughts on the Manners of the Great, Estimate of the religion of the Fashionable World, Strictures on Female Education*, had an extraordinary effect on the manners of the day, while she herself, and her sisters, devoting themselves to the teaching of the benighted district in which they had settled in Somersetshire, were noble examples of true practical Christianity.

17. The attention of the evangelical party was early directed to the important subject of missions to the heathen. The Church of England had, it must be confessed, been grievously negligent in this matter. The efforts of Robert Boyle, and the labours of the famous missionary, John Elliot, to convert the American Indians had been allowed to die away, though some praiseworthy attempts were made from time to time by the chaplains of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to reach the natives.

¹ *History of England*, by Earl Stanhope, vi. 313.

Scarce any English missionaries were found to go out into the great field which was being opened through the acquisition of vast territories in India. The Christian Knowledge Society had done a little, and by the singular power and devotion of one agent whom it employed, C. F. Schwartz, had introduced the Gospel into Southern India. In 1788 there was some attempt at organising a mission from Calcutta.¹ But the directors of the East India Company were timid, and opposed to what they thought might prove a perilous policy, and when in 1793 Mr. Wilberforce obtained the insertion in the India Bill of a clause recommending the religious teaching of the natives, they were able to procure its excision.² Bishop Porteus's labours had been directed towards the evangelising of the negro slaves in the West Indies, and in this he had effected a good deal;³ but up to the end of the eighteenth century India stood practically untouched by the Church of England. There is abundant evidence that this state of things was distressing to the earnest and zealous men who were the leaders of the evangelical party, and in the year 1795 they began to contemplate active measures for removing this reproach from the Church.

18. In that year there met at Rauceby, a small village in Lincolnshire, of which Mr. Pugh was the rector, a party of fourteen evangelical clergymen, to consider how best to dispose of a sum of £4000 which had been left by Mr. Jane to be laid out in furthering "the interests of true religion." The plan of forming a college for the education of missionaries was discussed, but nothing was then concluded. Early next year the subject was revived at the "Eclectic," a religious club in London, of which all the chief evangelicals were members. Of the seventeen present, only two or three approved the project of a missionary college. The subject now dropped for a time, but in 1799 was revived by Mr. Venn, who, in a letter to Mr. Simeon, informed him that he was about to move certain resolutions at the "Eclectic" touching missions, and invited his attendance. The meeting was held March 18 (1799).

¹ *Simeon's Life*, p. 75. ² *Life of Wilberforce*, by his sons, ii. 25-27.

³ *Life of Porteus*, p. 125.

There was a general feeling that the duty was pressing. Mr. Simeon pointed out that they could not, as members of the Church, join the London Missionary Society (which had been established shortly before¹), as it had no Church basis. They agreed to draw up a prospectus and submit it to the bishops. On April 12 a meeting was held at the Falcon Inn, Aldersgate Street, the Rev. J. Venn in the chair. Only sixteen clergymen and nine laymen were present. It was agreed to found "a Society amongst the members of the Established Church for sending missionaries among the heathen."² Such was the foundation of the Church Missionary Society, which has gone on ever since its commencement in ever-increasing circles of evangelical usefulness.

19. Towards the end of the century the doctrine of the evangelicals seems to have been somewhat modified. They could not indeed come nearer to an accordance with the Wesleyans. From the time of the breaking out of the Calvinistic controversy, the minds of the two parties seem to have been steadily set in opposite directions. While the one dwelt more and more on the utter depravity of human nature, the others were drawn with greater eagerness towards the doctrine of Christian perfection—that doctrine which Mr. Wesley had broached, but with which he was always sorely perplexed, and which he never applied to his own case. To the Calvinistic evangelical such a doctrine seemed absolute blasphemy. When Mr. Simeon could write, after many years of devoted Christian life, that he was so corrupt that he constantly wondered at the mercy of his being kept out of hell,³ what could he have thought of those who complacently claimed perfection? He looked upon them as "lamentably enthusiastic and deluded."⁴ Mr. Cecil, a leading and thoughtful evangelical divine, writes, "a man who thinks himself to have attained Christian perfection, in the sense in which it has been insisted on by some persons, either deceives himself

¹ In 1795.

² *Simeon's Life*, by Carus, chaps. v.-vii. It did not assume the name of Church Missionary Society till 1812.

³ *Ib.* p. 196.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 160.

by calling sin infirmity, or Satan leaves him undisturbed in false security, or the demon of pride overcomes the demon of lust.”¹ Between these two schools there could be no real union. But if the evangelicals recoiled from the Methodists on what they held to be their presumptuous claims to perfection, they drew away on the other hand more from the Huntingdonians, whose lax notions on the obligations to Christian holiness revolted them. Thus Mr. Henry Venn writes to his son, the rector of Clapham, “I am not displeased with the opposition of the Huntingdonians to your preaching. Their hatred is much to be preferred to their praise. It gives me great pleasure to see you stand in the place your father did—pelted on one side by ranters clamouring for sinless perfection, and on the other by antinomian abusers of grace.”² This was the position occupied, as a whole, by the evangelical clergy at the end of the century. They had learned to “moderate” their Calvinism, and were content to be somewhat illogical in their theology, rather than for a moment seem to undervalue the necessity of a life of Christian holiness. “The sovereign and electing grace of God,” writes Mr. Venn, “bears no proportion in the Scripture to the practical part of our holy religion.”³ Their own deep religious instincts and their love for holiness kept them right, and it would be altogether unjust to charge their preaching at this period with any leaning towards Solifidianism or Antinomianism.

¹ Cecil's *Remains*, p. 348.

² *Memoirs of Rev. H. Venn*, p. 530.

³ *Ib.* p. 531.

CHAPTER VII.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. Founding of the S.P.G. to supply clergy to America. 2. Mr. Keith in New England. 3. Opposition to the conversion of negroes in South Carolina. 4. Difficulties in North Carolina. 5. Bishop Berkeley's philanthropic scheme and its failure. 6. Georgia and George Whitefield. 7. Pennsylvania—Sufferings of the clergy from the war. 8. New Jersey—A nonjuring bishop. 9. Mr. Chandler's energetic labours. 10. Yale College—Dr. Cutler and Dr. Johnson. 11. The clergy of the southern colonies. 12. The clergy during the War of Independence. 13. Ordination of Samuel Seabury. 14. Consecration of Samuel Seabury as first bishop of Connecticut. 15. Consecration of Bishops White and Provoost. 16. Consecration of the first bishop of Nova Scotia. 17. Sees of Quebec and Newfoundland.

1. SETTLEMENTS of English in America had been going on for more than a hundred years before any systematic attempt was made by the Church at home to uphold and develop her system and teaching in these rapidly-increasing colonies. Not that the settlers were absolutely without religious teachers, the names of some of whom, as Robert Hunt and Alexander Whitaker in Virginia, recall lives of the greatest devotion. Virginia was cavalier and High Church; New England, Puritan and Independent; Maryland, Roman Catholic; Pennsylvania, Quaker. In the year 1679 not a single church existed in the New England settlements, and there were only four episcopal clergymen in the whole continent of America.¹ Towards the end of the century Maryland, having become Anglican, provided a maintenance for clergy, and memorialised the Bishop of London to send out a commissary to govern them. The bishop appointed Dr. Bray, than whom a more fitting person could not have been selected. Dr. Bray at once set

¹ Hawkins, *Historical Notices*, p. 14.

himself to procure missionaries to sail from England, and having been mainly instrumental in founding the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at home, in December 1699 he set sail for Maryland, which he reached in the following March. Having satisfied himself as to the state of things in America, and perceived the great need there was for an orderly supply of clergy, Dr. Bray returned to England, and applying himself to King William III. procured the grant of a Royal Charter under the Great Seal, creating a corporation by the name of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" (June 16, 1701).

2. The Charter of the Society defined its work as being "the instruction of our people in the Christian religion," but it was at once interpreted to include also the evangelisation of the heathen,¹ and this object, though little progress was made in it, was never lost sight of by the clergy employed by the Society. The first missionary employed by the Society in New England was the Rev. George Keith, who had been a Quaker, but having abandoned their opinions, had been ordained in the Church of England. He was a man of singular power both as a disputant and a writer, and he succeeded in bringing over many converts from the vain fantasies of the Quakers. These sectaries, with their doctrine of the sufficiency of the inward light, and their contempt of ordinances, had almost obliterated Christianity. The only church was at Boston, and in most of the settlements there was absolute heathenism. In 1703 Mr. Talbot, Keith's companion, could write—"We have gathered several hundreds together for the Church of England, and what is more, to build houses for her service. There are four or five now going forward in this province and the next. Churches are going up amain where there were never any before. . . . Mr. Keith has done great service to the Church, wherever he has been, by preaching and disputing publicly and from house to house. People are much awakened and their eyes opened to see the good old way."² The want of a bishop was deeply felt even at that early period. The cry is repeated all through the century.

¹ Hawkins, p. 19.

² *Ib.* p. 36.

Yet the Church at home could obstinately close her ears to this manifest need. Mr. Keith's teaching took effect even at the Puritan College of Cambridge, where many were disposed to listen favourably to his arguments.

3. In South Carolina the missionaries of the Society were brought into contact not only with the native Americans but also with the negroes, who had been introduced into the country to work as slaves. It is satisfactory to find that they attempted to civilise and teach these unhappy creatures, but the obstacles put in the way by their masters prevented much progress. Dr. le Jau writes—"Several sensible and sober slaves have asked me to be baptized and married according to the form of our holy Church. I could not comply with their request without the consent of their masters, but I have exhorted them to perseverance and patience. The masters are unwilling, most of them. Many masters can't be persuaded that negroes and Indians are otherwise than beasts, and use them like such."¹ Another more outspoken missionary writes—"The people here generally are the vilest race of men upon the earth; they have neither honour or honesty nor religion enough to entitle them to any tolerable character, being a perfect medley or hotch-potch of bankrupts, pirates, decayed libertines, sectaries, and enthusiasts of all sorts."² Yet on this unpromising material the labours of the Society's clergy were not altogether thrown away. Gradually a better state of things arose. We read of many communicant negroes. The Society's report for 1741 states that some thousands of negroes had been converted. By about the middle of the century there were twenty parishes in the province with settled clergy. The Legislature passed an Act allowing £100 a year stipend to each clergyman, so that the Society was able to withdraw its grants, having conferred a great and lasting benefit on South Carolina, when it seemed to be in the very lowest depths of vice and apostasy.

4. In North Carolina hardships of a peculiar nature attended the labours of the missionaries. The province was thinly peopled and little civilised. It was absolutely

¹ Hawkins, p. 50.

² *Ib.* p. 54.

without clergy. The Quakers, who abounded, were exceedingly bitter opponents of the introduction of the Church. Having no real religion themselves, they yet strongly resisted its provision for others. There were some few Church people, "the fewest in number but the better sort of people, who would do very much for the settlement of the Church government there if not opposed,"¹ but who were unwilling to fight a difficult battle. However, the missionaries gallantly persevered, itinerating with great difficulty through the wild country, and giving their services in preaching and administering the sacraments wherever they could find a few settlers ready to receive them. The stipends promised them by the colonists were for the most part unpaid, and they were often reduced to the greatest straits to procure the necessaries of life. The Quakers were ever striving to stir up strife against them. One of them writes—"Nothing but my true concern for so many poor souls scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd, and my duty to those good men who reposed this trust in me, could have induced me to stay in so barbarous and disorderly a place as this now is." Another, some years later—"With care and pains I am now in great hopes we shall ever have the Liturgy of the Church of England perfectly established amongst us without interruption from any quarters by sectaries of any kind whatsoever."² In 1732 Mr. Boyd, an Englishman, who had long lived in the colony, came to England for ordination, and was ordained by the Bishop of London; and in 1743 a man who has a very distinguished place in the early records of the Church in America—Clement Hall—was ordained in England and commissioned by the Society. Mr. Hall had been a magistrate, and as a layman had read divine service, and when admitted to the ministry his work was incessant, and crowned with great success. In 1752 he gives the following summary of his labours—"I have now, through God's gracious assistance and blessing, in about seven or eight years, though frequently visited with sickness, been enabled to perform (for aught I know) as great ministerial duties as any clergyman in North America, viz.

¹ Hawkins, p. 66.² *Ib.* pp. 74-76.

to journey about 14,000 miles, preach about 675 sermons, baptize about 3783 white children, 243 black children, 57 white adults, and about 112 black adults; sometimes administer the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to two or three hundred communicants in one journey, besides churching of women, visiting the sick," etc.¹ The cry of this good man, as of all the missionaries, was still for a bishop, whose presence was needed every day.

5. There was also another great need for the progress of the Church in America besides the urgent need of a bishop. There was no place for the education of such youths of American birth as should desire to enter into Holy Orders in the Church of England. Nor was there any school for training children of the American Indians, who, if brought up in the Christian religion, might become the most effective missionaries to their fellow-countrymen. The thought of these things deeply touched a noble soul—George Berkeley, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who, in 1724, was promoted to the Deanery of Derry. Very soon after his promotion Dr. Berkeley drew up and published a "Proposal for the better supplying of churches in our foreign plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isle of Bermudha." The arguments put forward in this "Proposal" were very strong. Berkeley does not hesitate to assert that "the clergy sent over to America have proved, too many of them, very meanly qualified, both in learning and morals, for the discharge of their office."² To this may be imputed the small care that hath been taken to convert the negroes of our plantations, who, to the infamy of England and scandal of the world, continue heathen under Christian

¹ Hawkins, p. 84.

² In his sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, preached seven years after this, when he had had practical experience in America, Bishop Berkeley says—"I speak it knowingly that the ministers of the Gospel in those provinces which go by the name of New England sent and supported at the expense of this Society, have by their sobriety of manners, discreet behaviour, and a competent degree of useful knowledge, shown themselves worthy the choice of those who sent them."—*Works*, iii. 248.

masters and in Christian countries. And although it be allowed that some of the clergy in our colonies have approved themselves men of merit, it will, at the same time, be allowed that the most zealous and able missionary from England must find himself but ill qualified for converting the American heathen, if we consider the difference of language, the wild way of living, and above all the great jealousy and prejudice which savage nations have towards foreigners, or innovations introduced by them.”¹ Berkeley’s arguments and zeal, as well as his own disinterested readiness to embark all his property in the venture and to resign his Deanery, availed to procure, after some delay, a grant of a Royal Charter for the College of St. Paul in the Island of Bermudha, and a promise of an endowment of £20,000 from some Crown lands in the Island of St. Christopher’s. Being joined by three junior Fellows of Trinity College (Thompson, Rogers, and King), Dr. Berkeley and his wife sailed for America, and established themselves at Newport in Rhode Island, waiting for the payment of the Government grant, and making arrangements for the commencement of the college. They waited long in vain. At last Sir Robert Walpole cynically told Bishop Gibson that, if he desired his real opinion on the matter, it was that the money never would be paid. It had, in fact, been already expended on other objects of inferior importance, and the Dean, after great sacrifices, was obliged to return to England and abandon his scheme. He generously gave to Yale College at Newhaven a large and valuable collection of books, and the property which he had acquired in Rhode Island, to found a scholarship. On his return to England he scrupulously gave back all the money which had been subscribed by private individuals, and zealously directed his energies into a different channel, in which he reached very great success.² The account which Berkeley gives of the state of society in Rhode Island is very bad. Of the bulk of those who were settled in the colony he says—“They live

¹ *Works of Bishop Berkeley*, iii. 214.

² *Life of Bishop Berkeley*, affixed to his *Works* (ed. 1820). See Chap. II.

without the sacraments, not being so much as baptized, and as for their morals, I apprehend there is nothing to be found in them that should tempt others to make an experiment of their principles either in religion or government.”¹ The planters were steadily opposed to allowing their slaves to be baptized, under the idea that they would obtain freedom thereby.

6. A part of the money which had been promised to Dean Berkeley for his college at Bermudha had been obtained by General Oglethorpe for the colony which he founded in Georgia.² This colony is remarkable in the history of the Colonial Church as having been the scene of the early labours of the Wesleys, and of a large part of the ministerial life of George Whitefield. John Wesley went to it as a missionary under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but his stay in Georgia was short, and his work was altogether marred by his injudicious attempts at over-strictness. His testimony to the high character of the clergy of South Carolina is very strong,³ and is difficult to reconcile with his utterance at another time when he described the American clergy as “with a few exceptions to the contrary as bad a set of men as perhaps ever disgraced the Church of God.”⁴ Whitefield was attracted again and again to Georgia by the great interest which he took in the orphan-house founded by him at Savannah. On various occasions he itinerated through New England, and attracted great crowds to listen to his impassioned oratory. Censures as severe were passed on him by some of the clergy in America as any that were spoken in England. Mr. Frink says—“He has done more mischief in England and America, more particularly in Georgia, than he himself could undo, if we suppose him as zealous against promoting enthusiasm, disorder, and confusion, as he has been for encouraging them. It is more, I say, than he

¹ *Works*, iii. 16.

² See Chap. IV.

³ “I had the pleasure of meeting with the clergy of South Carolina, among whom in the afternoon there was such a conversation for several hours on ‘Christ our Righteousness,’ as I had not heard at any visitation in England, or hardly on any other occasion.”—Wesley’s *Journal*.

⁴ Coke and Moore’s *Life of J. Wesley*, p. 447.

could undo in three centuries. He has been a destroyer of order and peace, and of the Church of England, wherever he came; an encourager of every sectary; a public condemner of the Church of England clergy, persuading the people in every preachment that nine-tenths of the clergy of the Church of England are absolutely perjured."¹ It may be doubted, therefore, whether Mr. Whitefield's labours did much for the advancement of the Church of England in America. In fact, as far as Georgia is concerned, very little seems to have been done by any one. In 1769 there were but two churches in the whole province, and the people in general were said to have "but little more knowledge of the Saviour than the aboriginal natives."²

7. In Pennsylvania, the country of the Quakers, the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel made very fair progress, and converted and baptized many Quaker families. There was somewhat of wholesome zeal in this district. One missionary writes:—"We have now three churches in this country, yet none of them will contain the hearers that constantly attend the Church service. People at this season of the year make no account of riding twenty miles to church—a thing very common in this part of America—which is sufficient to show that our people have a great value for the favour of the Society, and that our labour in this distant part of the world is not in vain."³ In the whole province fifteen "very decent" churches had been built, and many valuable bequests left for the use of the Church and her ministers. Another missionary mentions having baptized a hundred and nine adult negroes. All unite, as in other provinces, in a piteous demand for a bishop. Even the Presbyterians were ready to accept what they called "primitive episcopacy, that is, episcopacy without any civil power annexed to it."⁴ Again and again are recorded melancholy instances of young Americans going to England to seek orders and falling victims to that terrible scourge of the eighteenth century, the smallpox. It seemed that colonial youths were specially subject to danger from this malady. The breaking out of the war between the English and French

¹ Hawkins, p. 103.² *Ib.* p. 104.³ *Ib.* p. 121.⁴ *Ib.* p. 126.

greatly retarded the work of the missionaries. Some of them seem to have done good service in a military character. Mr. Barton put himself at the head of his congregations and marched either by night or day at every alarm. Many of the clergy joined the troops in the field and endeavoured to edify them by frequent sermons.¹ But upon the breaking out of the war between the colonies and the mother country the position of the clergy became full of difficulty. "I have been obliged," writes Mr. Barton, "to shut up my churches to avoid the fury of the populace, who would not suffer the Liturgy to be used unless the collects for the King and Royal family were omitted; my life and property have been threatened upon mere suspicion of being unfriendly to the 'American cause.' Indeed, every clergyman of the Church of England who dared to act upon proper principles was marked out for infamy and insult, in consequence of which the missionaries in particular have suffered greatly. Some of them have been dragged from their houses, assaulted with stones and dirt, ducked in water, obliged to flee for their lives, driven from their habitations and families, laid under arrests, and imprisoned."² This cause was soon to produce the total cessation of the Society's work in America. But the venerable body might reflect with some satisfaction, when obliged to relinquish its labours, that when it began its operations it found but five churches, when it closed them it left two hundred and fifty.³

8. In New Jersey a very energetic missionary, Mr. Talbot, was early placed by the Society. He was one who took higher views on Church matters than most of his contemporaries, belonging, as he did, to the nonjuring school of Hickee and Kettlewell. Consequently he was soon accused of Jacobitism by those who disliked his constant assertions of the necessity of a bishop, and he became dissatisfied with the little support his views seemed to receive from the Society. "Had I known," he writes, "as much as I do now, that the Society were not able for their parts

¹ See the interesting details on this subject in Mr. Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

² Hawkins, p. 139.

³ Dr. Dorr's *Historical Account*, quoted Hawkins, p. 140.

to send either bishop, priest or deacon, lecturer or catechist, I would never have put the people in these parts to the trouble of building churches." Finding no help probable from the authorised quarter, Mr. Talbot conceived the plan of providing it irregularly. Returning to England, he, together with Dr. Welton, was consecrated a bishop by some of the nonjuring prelates, and returned to America with the intention of giving orders clandestinely. But he died soon after his return, and Dr. Welton was sent home by the authorities.¹ Mr. Talbot's conduct may have given some ground for accusing the clergy in America of Jacobitism, if that is to be held as an offence. But the devoted lives of so many of them should have saved them from the sweeping censure of Archbishop Secker as "men of desperate fortunes, low qualifications, bad and doubtful characters, and a great part of them Scotch Jacobites."²

9. Certainly none of these charges could be alleged with truth against Mr. Thomas Chandler, whose career might well compare with that of any of the English clergy of his day. Mr. Chandler was bred a Dissenter, but becoming a Churchman by conviction, and being appointed a catechist at Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, he so approved himself to the people that they requested his ordination as their pastor. In 1751 he was ordained in England, and entered upon a successful and judicious ministry. He refused to allow the use of his pulpit to Whitefield, who went about like a firebrand through the American colonies, and he thus incurred the displeasure of the more unsettled spirits. Under great difficulties he continued faithfully to teach true Church of England doctrine. He writes:—"If the clergy say a word even to their own people concerning the unity of Christ's body, the nature of schism, or the necessity of authority derived from Christ in the ministers of His religion, the alarm is immediately sounded. If we are altogether silent on these heads our own people grow indifferent, and in time may think it immaterial whether they are in communion with the Church or join with a conventicle."³ As the exasperation of the colonies against

¹ Hawkins, p. 146.

² Secker's Letter to Horace Walpole.

³ Hawkins, p. 153.

the Home Government increased, Chandler's position, like that of the other Anglican clergy, became almost untenable. He was engaged in vehement controversy with several of those who upheld the American side, and proved himself a most efficient champion of the Church. He made a vigorous attempt to organise missions to the native Indians, but the war interfered with everything. In 1775 he was compelled to leave his work in America and retire to England.

10. That culture, a knowledge of Church history, and sound theology, often proved the most efficient agents in removing prejudices against the Church of England, and bringing converts to her communion, was evidenced by the movement which took place in Yale College, Connecticut, about 1722. It appears that the principal of this Independent institution and two of its tutors, Messrs. Cutler, Brown, and Johnson, who had been educated as Presbyterians, became convinced by reading certain works of Anglican divines, which had been presented to the college in 1714, that Presbyterian orders were invalid. They determined on resigning their positions at the college and applying for orders in England. A fourth member of the college, Mr. Whatsmore, soon afterwards followed their example. The three arrived in England in December 1722, bringing very high recommendations. After due examination they were admitted to the priesthood by the Bishop of Norwich, acting for the Bishop of London. Mr. Brown unhappily was carried off by the smallpox. Dr. Cutler and Mr. Johnson having been honourably received by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, returned to minister in America as Anglican clergymen. Dr. Cutler settled at Boston, where he rapidly advanced the Church, gaining converts from the various sects; but very great mischief and trouble resulted from the visits of George Whitefield and the madness which he stirred up. There came, however, a reaction, and the after effects seem to have resulted in the strengthening of the Church.¹ Mr. Johnson, who had been created D.D. by the University of Oxford, was for many years a most valuable missionary of the Society

¹ Hawkins, p. 184.

at Stratford in Connecticut. In 1754 he was elected to the headship of King's College in New York, and after holding this office for nine years, he again returned to Stratford to end his days.

11. The missionaries of the Society seem to have maintained a high character for learning, zeal, and usefulness. Many of them were very able men; and that a considerable body of her clergy should have thus approved their power and zeal in such difficult circumstances is a strong argument against the truth of those sweeping condemnations of the English clergy of the eighteenth century which are so common. In 1748 there were in New England thirty-six episcopal clergy. In Virginia and Maryland, where endowments had been provided for the clergy, and the Society had no supervision, the state of things was not so good. The absence of a bishop was here more keenly felt even than in the New England colonies, for the scandal of evil-living clergy having become very common, the vestries retained in their hands the power over the clergy, refusing to induct them into the temporalities, but retaining them as tenants at will, that they might have a control over their conduct.¹ Thus the clergy were kept in a state of bondage, and frequently lay readers were employed instead of ordained persons, the supply of the latter being very deficient. The whole framework of society in the southern colonies seems to have become grievously corrupt.

12. During the sanguinary struggle for independence the English and loyal clergy everywhere suffered great hardships. They were expelled from their churches, or else decided voluntarily to abandon them rather than omit the prayers for the King and relinquish their loyalty. Many of them were in peril of their lives for real or pretended aid given to the royal cause. Some few of the New England clergy sided with the Americans, but as a body they remained firm and resolute in the English interest; and when the termination of the struggle brought the independence of the States, they migrated, some to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, some to become chaplains in the King's army, others to England.²

¹ Wilberforce, *Hist. of American Church*, p. 138. ² Hawkins, p. 342.

13. A peculiar interest attaches to one of the Society's missionaries at this time, inasmuch as he was at length to bring to the American Church the long-desired gift of the Episcopate. Samuel Seabury was the son of a missionary of the same name employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was educated at Newhaven, and early made use of by his father as a lay reader and assistant. At his father's request he was appointed by the Society as a catechist. Being well reported of and recommended, he went to England in 1753, and was admitted into deacons' and priests' orders,¹ soon after which he was appointed to the living of Jamaica. Here he had to do with a population who had been led by the path of Quakerism into infidelity, but he was able to reclaim many of them. In 1766 he moved to West Chester, at which place he was ministering at the outbreak of the troubles. He remained firm after others had fled, but was exposed to terrible insults and great dangers. Independency had been proclaimed by the Congress at Philadelphia, and the Congress of New York decreed death against any one who should aid, abet, or support the King's cause. Mr. Seabury was at length compelled to shut up his church and take refuge with the King's forces. He writes to the Society:—"It must give the Society great satisfaction to know that all their missionaries have conducted themselves with great propriety, and on many occasions with a firmness and steadiness that have done them honour. This may be said of all the clergy on this side the Delaware, and I am persuaded of many on the other. The conduct of the Philadelphia clergy has been the very reverse."²

14. Immediately on the termination of the war there

¹ From the facsimiles of the Letters of Orders of Dr. Seabury, which have been kindly furnished to me by the Historiographer of the American Church, I find that Dr. Seabury was admitted to deacons' orders by John, Bishop of Lincoln, on Friday, Dec. 21 (St. Thomas' Day) 1753, at Fulham, and was ordained priest also at Fulham on Sunday, Dec. 23, 1753, by Richard, Bishop of Carlisle, both prelates acting for the Bishop of London, who was incapacitated by illness. The interval of only one day between the two ordinations was doubtless held to be justified by the necessity of the case.

² Hawkins, p. 306.

was a general movement among the Churchmen of America to obtain Episcopacy. Such feeble help as had before been ministered by the Bishop of London could now no longer be expected, and the Church must utterly fail unless they provided a bishop of their own. Steps were taken for the meeting of a Convention representing the whole of the provinces, but in the meantime the clergy of Connecticut, not willing to wait in so important a matter, met in synod and elected Samuel Seabury to be their bishop. Seabury sailed for England in 1783, and on applying to Dr. Moore, then just translated to Canterbury, naturally found some hesitation on account of the peculiar position in which America now stood towards the mother country. Seabury, not seeing much hope of success with the English Primate, next turned his attention to Scotland, having been recommended to take this course by Dr. George Berkeley, Prebendary of Canterbury, the son of the bishop, who also brought all his influence to bear upon the Scotch bishops. After some delay they consented to consecrate him, and on November 14, 1784, Samuel Seabury was consecrated Bishop of Connecticut at Aberdeen by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner, and immediately afterwards returned to America.¹

15. Soon after the return of Dr. Seabury the general Convention of Church clergy and laymen met at Philadelphia (October 1785), and proceeded to discuss the whole ecclesiastical status, the constitution of the Church, the Liturgy, and the steps to be taken for obtaining an Episcopate. Presbyterian and even Socinian views found full expression in this Convention, and the results were by no means satisfactory. When therefore application was made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the American minister, to consecrate the divines selected by the Convention, the archbishop's answer did not convey an entire assent: "While we (the English bishops) are anxious to give every proof not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system, which will be called a

¹ An exact copy of the Certificate of Consecration will be found in Notes and Illustrations to this chapter.

branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially either in doctrine or discipline."¹ This wise and prudent remonstrance of the English bishops was the cause of untold benefit to the American Church. The Convention, learning the special objections made to the proposed changes in the Liturgy, abandoned most of them, being very desirous to obtain the approval of the English bishops, and having duly elected three divines, William White, Samuel Provoost, and David Griffith, despatched the two former to England with the necessary testimonials. They were kindly received, and had an audience with the King, and on Sunday, February 4, 1787, in the Episcopal Chapel at Lambeth, they were consecrated to the Sees of Pennsylvania and New York by the two archbishops, and the bishops of Bath and Wells and Peterborough.² "Thus at last," writes Mr. Hawkins, "the Church was perfected in America, and from this moment her course has been rapidly progressive."³

16. About the time of Bishop Seabury's consecration, John Wesley went through the strange ceremony of pretending to consecrate bishops for America, thus affecting to give what he had never received. These ministers became the superintendents of the Wesleyan connection, which was thus permanently detached from the Church. Very soon after the consecration of the two American bishops, the English bishops took a step, too long delayed, which was the foundation of what is now the vast English Colonial Church. America had ceased to stand in this relation to the mother church, but in the province of Nova Scotia a very large number of the American loyalists had found a refuge. Long before this there had been a flourishing church in Nova Scotia, and now it was wisely determined not to withhold from this faithful colony the

¹ Wilberforce, *Hist. of American Church*, p. 216. The text of the original application, the reply of the bishops, the private letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Act of Parliament obtained by him to authorise the consecration, will all be found in Notes and Illustrations, as kindly furnished to me by the Historiographer of the American Church.

² Wilberforce, p. 219; Hawkins, p. 410.

³ *Historical Notices*, p. 410.

advantage of episcopal supervision. It was at first proposed to consecrate Dr. Chandler, but his health being broken he was unable to accept the offer. In his place he recommended Dr. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York, who had been obliged to fly to England during the war. Dr. Inglis was accordingly consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia on August 12, 1787,¹ being the first English colonial bishop, the precursor of a goodly array of devoted prelates.

17. A beginning was thus made, but that a bishop of Nova Scotia should be able to exercise any effective supervision over all the clergy scattered through the English American possessions was of course out of the question. It appears, however, that the Canadian clergy were summoned to the visitation of the Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1789. In 1793, however, the See of Quebec was founded, Dr. Jacob Mountain being the first bishop; and in 1839 the See of Newfoundland, where clergy had long been labouring, without any possibility of obtaining episcopal help, was also separated from the diocese of Nova Scotia.

¹ Hawkins, p. 411.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

(I.) THE LETTERS OF CONSECRATION OF THE REV. SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D., TO BE BISHOP.

In Dei Nomine. Amen.

Omnibus ubique Catholicis per Presentes pateat nos Robertum Kilgour, miseratione divinâ Episcopum Aberdonien. Arthurum Petrie Episcopum Rossen. et Moravien. et Joannem Skinner Episcopum Coadjutorem, mysteria Sacra Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Oratorio supradicti Joannis Skinner apud Aberdoniam celebrantes, Divini nominis præsidio fretos (præsentibus tam e Clero quam e Populo Testibus idoneis) Samuelem Seabury, Doctorem Divinitatis, sacro Presbyteratûs ordine jam decoratum, ac nobis præ vitæ integritate, morum pro-

bitate et Orthodoxyâ commendatum, et ad docendum et regendum aptum et idoneum, ad sacrum et sublimem Episcopatûs Ordinem promovisse, et ritè ac canonicè secundum morem et Ritus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ consecrasse, Die Novembris decimo quarto Anno Æræ Christianæ Millesimo septingentesimo octagesimo quarto. In cujus rei testimonium Instrumento huic (Chriographis nostris prius munito) sigilla nostra apponi mandavimus.

ROBERTUS KILGOUR, (Sig.)
Episcopus et Primus.

ARTHURUS PETRIE, (Sig.)
Episcopus.

JOANNES SKINNER, (Sig.)
Episcopus.

(II.) THE ORDER FOR THE APPLICATION OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION TO THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF ENGLAND, OCT. 5, 1785.

Ordered that the plan for obtaining consecration be again read, which being done, the same was agreed to, and is as follows:—

1. That this Convention address the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, requesting them to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be chosen and recommended to them for that purpose from the Conventions of this Church in the respective States.

2. That it be recommended to the said Conventions that they elect persons for this purpose.

3. That it be further recommended to the different Conventions, at their next respective sessions, to appoint committees with power to correspond with the English bishops, for the carrying these resolutions into effect, and that until such committees shall be appointed, they be requested to direct any communications which they may be pleased to make on this subject to the committee, consisting of the Rev. Dr. White, Rev. Dr. Smith, Rev. Mr. Provoost, the Rev. James Duane, and Samuel Powels and Richard Peters, Esqs.

4. That it be further recommended to the different Conventions that they pay especial attention to the making it appear to their Lordships that the persons who shall be sent by them for consecration are desired in the character of bishops as well by the laity as by the clergy of this Church in the said States respectively, and that they will be received by them in that character on their return.

5. And in order to assure their

Lordships of the legality of the proposed application, that the deputies now assembled be desired to make a respectful request to the civil rulers of their States in which they respectively reside, to certify that the said application is not contrary to the constitution and laws of the same.

6. And whereas the bishops of this Church will not be entitled to any of such temporal honours as are due to the archbishops and bishops of the parent Church in quality of Lords of Parliament; and whereas the reputation and usefulness of our bishops will considerably depend on their assuming no higher titles or style than will be due to their spiritual employments, that it be recommended to this Church, in the States here represented, to provide that each of the respective bishops may be called the Right Reverend A. B., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C. D., and as bishop may have no other title, and may not use any such style as is usually descriptive of temporal power and precedence.

Done in Philadelphia Christ's Church in Convention of the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the States under mentioned, this 5th Day of October 1785.

WILLIAM WHITE, President,
D.D., Rector of Christ
Church and St. Peter, Philadelphia.

For New York. { SAMUEL PROVOOST, Rector of
Trinity Church and Clerical
Deputy for New York.
JAMES DUANE, Lay Deputy.

[Also Clerical and Lay Deputies for the following States:—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina—27 in all.]

(III.) THE REPLY OF THE ENGLISH BISHOPS TO AN ADDRESS FOUNDED ON THE FOREGOING "PLAN."

LONDON, *Feb.* 24, 1786.

To the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Sundry of the United States of America.

The Archbishop of Canterbury hath received an address dated in Convention Christ Church, Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1785, from the Clerical and Lay Deputies of the Protestant Episcopal Church in sundry of the United States of America, directed to the archbishops and bishops of England, and requesting them to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by the Episcopal Church in the several States by them represented.

This brotherly and Christian address was communicated to the Archbishop of York and to the bishops with as much despatch as their separate and distant situations would permit, and hath been received and considered by them with that true and affectionate regard which they have always shown towards their Episcopal brethren in America.

We are now enabled to assure you that nothing is nearer to our hearts than the wish to promote your spiritual welfare, to be instrumental in procuring for you the complete exercise of our holy religion, and the enjoyment of that ecclesiastical constitution which we believe to be truly apostolical, and for which you express so unreserved a veneration.

We are therefore happy to be informed that the pious design is not likely to receive any discountenance from the civil powers under which you live; and we desire you

to be persuaded that we on our parts will use our best endeavours, which we have good reason to hope will be successful, to acquire a legal capacity of complying with the prayer of your address.

With these sentiments we are disposed to make every allowance which candour can suggest for the difficulties of your situation; but at the same time we cannot help being afraid that in the proceedings of your Convention some alterations may have been adopted or intended which those difficulties do not seem to justify.

These alterations are not mentioned in your address, and as our knowledge of them is no more than what has reached us through private and less certain channels, we hope you will think it just both to you and to ourselves if we wait for an explanation.

For while we are anxious to give every proof not only of our affection but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially either in doctrine or in discipline. In the meantime we heartily commend you to God's holy protection, and are your affectionate brethren—

J. CANTUAR.	R. WORCESTER.
W. EBOR.	J. OXFORD.
R. LONDON.	J. EXETER.
W. CHICHESTER.	THO. LINCOLN.
E. BATH and WELLS.	JOHN BANGOR.
J. ST. ASAPH.	J. LICHF. and
S. SARUM.	COVENTRY.
J. PETERBOROUGH.	F. GLOUCESTER.
JAMES ELY.	E. ST. DAVIDS.
J. ROCHESTER.	CHR. BRISTOL.

(IV.) THE ACT OF PARLIAMENT, 26 GEORGE III., C. 84.

An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being to consecrate to the office of a bishop persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions.

I. Whereas by the laws of this realm no person can be consecrated to the office of a bishop without the King's license for his election to that office and the royal mandate under the Great Seal for his confirmation and consecration: and whereas every person who is consecrated to the said office is required to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also the oath of due obedience to the archbishop: and whereas there are divers persons subjects and citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions, and inhabiting and residing within the said countries, who profess the public worship of Almighty God according to the principles of the Church of England, and who, in order to provide a regular succession of ministers for the service of their Church, are desirous of having certain of the subjects or citizens of those countries consecrated bishops according to the form of consecration in the Church of England: Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act it shall be lawful for the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being, together with such other bishops as they shall call to their assistance, to consecrate persons being subjects or citizens of countries out of His Majesty's dominions, bishops, for the purposes aforesaid, without the King's license for their election or

the royal mandate, under the Great Seal, for their confirmation and consecration, and without requiring them to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the oath of due obedience to the archbishop for the time being.

II. Provided always that no persons shall be consecrated bishops in the manner herein provided until the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Archbishop of York for the time being shall have first applied for and obtained His Majesty's license by warrant, under his royal signet and sign manual, authorising and empowering him to perform such consecration, and expressing the name or names of the persons to be consecrated, nor until the said archbishop has been fully ascertained of their sufficiency in good learning, of the soundness of their faith and of the purity of their manners.

III. Provided always, and it is hereby declared, that no person or persons consecrated to the office of a bishop in the manner aforesaid, nor any person or persons deriving their consecration from or under any bishop so consecrated, nor any person or persons admitted to the order of deacon or priest by any bishop so consecrated, or by the successor or successors of any bishop so consecrated, shall be thereby enabled to exercise his or their respective office or offices within His Majesty's dominions.

IV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, that a certificate of such consecration shall be given under the hand and seal of the archbishop who consecrates, containing the name of the person so consecrated, with the addition as well of the country whereof he is a subject or citizen as of the Church in which he is appointed bishop, and the further description of his not having taken the said oaths, being exempted from the obligation of so doing by virtue of this Act.

(V.) LETTER OF THE ARCH-
BISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

CANTERBURY, *July 4, 1786.*

GENTLEMEN,

The enclosed Act being now passed, I have the satisfaction of communicating it to you. It is accompanied by a copy of a letter and some forms of Testimonials, which I sent you by the

packet of last month. It is the opinion here that no more than three bishops should be consecrated for the United States of America, who may consecrate others on their return if more be found necessary. But whether we can consecrate any or not must yet depend on the answers we may receive to what we have written.—I am, your humble servant,
J. CANTUAR.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHURCH AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

1. The Church of Scotland prior to the eighteenth century. 2. Relief in the reign of Queen Anne. 3. Measures of persecution against it under the Hanoverian dynasty. 4. Internal history of the Church. 5. Removal of disabilities. 6. The Irish Church disregards the native population. 7. Neglect and inefficiency of the bishops. 8. Unions of parishes and loss of glebes. 9. Continued prevalence of abuses. 10. The Act of Union. 11. State of the Church at this period.

1. THE Church of Scotland, which gave the Episcopacy to the American Church after so long waiting, had passed through many and chequered fortunes. Restored by King James I., ruined under Charles I. and Laud, again restored under Charles II., it had, in spite of Royal favour and the support of the strong hand of power, failed to conciliate the majority of the nation. It continued to exist in a state of war and contention through the remainder of the period of the Stuart dynasty, but at the Revolution a heavy persecution fell on it. The people rose against it, and by violent and savage attacks on the clergy, which they called "rabbling the King's curates," forced them to fly. King William accepted the Crown of Scotland with the condition of abolishing Episcopacy, and the most virulent persecution, authorised by various Acts of Parliament, followed. The Church of Scotland, worried and oppressed, became in the eighteenth century essentially a nonjuring Church, and its sympathies were entirely with the nonjuring section of English Churchmen.

2. No legal relief came to the Church from the accession of Queen Anne and the Act of Union, which stipulated that no change should be made in the ecclesiastical arrangements of the two countries. But without any legal

toleration the opening of episcopal "meeting-houses" was connived at, and the remaining Scottish bishops consecrated others, who, not being appointed to dioceses, formed what was called a "college," to assist the Church with their advice and counsel and to provide for the succession. The jealousy of the Presbyterians was excited by this quasi-toleration; and on the demand of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Mr. Greenshields, who had ministered in a chapel according to the usage of the Church of England, was actually thrown into prison by the magistrates. This act of persecution brought about a relief to the oppressed Church. After a debate in the united Parliament, Mr. Greenshields was ordered to be discharged, and on May 3, 1712, an Act was passed "to prevent the disturbing of those of the episcopal communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, and for repealing an Act of the Parliament of Scotland entitled an Act against irregular baptisms and marriages."¹ This law assured to all such of the clergy as were willing to take the oaths of allegiance and to pray for the Queen, a complete toleration, while to the determined nonjurors it assured immunity from disturbance in religious worship, though leaving them still exposed to the civil penalties of refusing the oaths. This was a great boon even to the extreme nonjurors. For the Presbyterians, who did not desire them to take the oaths, and thus perhaps attract royal favour, left them undisturbed, lest by their attacks they should drive them to better their legal position. Peace being established, a rapid increase of the Church was soon witnessed.

3. The death of Queen Anne destroyed the security enjoyed by the Church in Scotland, and the Jacobite rebellion which immediately followed brought down the vengeance of the new dynasty on those whose sympathies were with the proscribed family. A proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against all "Papists, nonjurors, and disaffected persons," and in 1719 a law was passed to inflict six months' imprisonment on every clergyman who had not taken the oaths and did not pray for King George by name.² At the same time an "episcopal

¹ Russell's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 397. ² *Ib.* ii. 398.

meeting-house" was defined to be any house where nine or more persons besides the family should be present. Still more severe measures followed after the rising of 1745. It was ordained that "every person exercising the function of a pastor or minister in any episcopal meeting-house in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders, and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his Majesty King George and the royal family by name, shall for the first offence suffer six months' imprisonment, and for the second be transported to some of his Majesty's plantations for life."¹ Every assemblage of more than *five* persons besides the family was now made to constitute a meeting-house, and the laity who attended were made subject to pains and penalties if they neglected to give information to the authorities. Another Act in 1748 was of a still more persecuting character. It having been found that some of the Jacobite clergy now qualified themselves for toleration, it was enacted that no letters of orders not granted by some bishop of the Church of England or Ireland should, after September 29, be sufficient to qualify any pastor or minister of any episcopal meeting-house in Scotland.² This unprincipled attempt to exterminate the Church in Scotland by ignoring the consecration of its bishops, was denounced by some of the English prelates in the House of Lords, but was nevertheless accepted, and was followed by another Act, which rigorously forbade episcopal clergy to act as chaplains in private families under penalty of imprisonment. The Church in Scotland was thus made to suffer a persecution almost identical with that which had been inflicted on the Church of England during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate;³ and these

¹ Russell, ii. 401.

² *Ib.* ii. 403.

³ "All appearance of public worship was avoided, and the clergy had recourse to a method of visiting families in private, where a few faithful followers met to celebrate the rites of the Church with the utmost secrecy. Sometimes they had little chapels in the recesses of narrow streets or alleys. Frequently these secluded places of worship were in the lofts of ruined stables or cow-houses, and were only approachable by movable ladders and trap-doors placed under the charge of some vigilant friend."—Russell, ii. 405.

measures reflect an indelible disgrace on the English ministers.

4. The Church in Scotland had, previously to this date, gone through a contest on ritualistic matters similar to that which has been recorded of the English nonjurors.¹ This was known as the question of the *usages*. Some of the clergy preferred to practise the ceremonial of the First Book of Edward VI. and the Scotch Prayer Book of 1636, rather than the ritual prescribed by the English Prayer Book of 1661. To the observance of this latter they were indeed in no way bound, but many of the more prudent clergy saw the great importance of preserving a uniformity with the Church of England. Others thought that the ceremonial was so valuable in itself that it outweighed the mischief likely to ensue from difference from the English Liturgy. In 1724 a compromise had been effected, any clergy who pleased to do so being allowed to use a revised form of the Scotch book, on the undertaking that they would not introduce into their ministrations any usages not sanctioned by this. Another cause of dispute had arisen from the plan previously alluded to of appointing bishops not to dioceses, but to be members of a college under one of the number as *Primus* or chief. The college plan was much disliked by the clergy, but was upheld by the agents of the Pretender for obvious reasons. A concordat entered into in 1732 overthrew this arrangement, and again established diocesan episcopacy. In 1743 six diocesan bishops, with Bishop Keith as president, met in synod, and passed a number of canons for the guidance of the Church. It was now enacted that one of the bishops should be regularly elected as *Primus*, who should have the power of "convocating and presiding," but who should be liable to be deprived of his office by the vote of the majority. Each bishop was to appoint one of his clergy to be dean, who was to represent the clergy in any synodical meeting. The subjection of presbyters to their diocesan bishop was carefully provided for. The clergy were to apply themselves diligently to the study of the Scriptures and "of the fathers of the apostolical and next

¹ See Chap. III.

two centuries, and to take all proper opportunities in their sermons and otherwise to instruct their people in the truly Catholic principles of that pure and primitive Church.”¹

5. In this promising state the Church of Scotland found itself when the persecution of 1746 fell upon it. Many of its clergy then betook themselves to the American colonies. Some renounced their orders. Some of those who desired to enter the ministry obtained orders from the English or Irish prelates. That the persecuted Church was enabled to struggle through the long period of bitter persecution and obloquy which it was called to endure, is a clear proof of its vitality, and the divine power which was in it. The accession of George III. brought a little comfort to the suffering Church. The Scotch bishops now again began to be recognised, and orders were sought from them. In 1765 a review of the Office for Holy Communion took place, and an amended form was published, the principal alteration from the form of 1724 being the change in the position of the invocation. The courageous charity, which led the Scotch bishops in 1784 to venture upon the consecration of Dr. Samuel Seabury for the Church in America, was instrumental in bringing the relief which now soon came to the Church. “The consecration was the means of recalling to the recollection of the English bench that a depressed branch of the Church of Christ, having the same orders, liturgy, and government with their own, continued to exist in Scotland.”² The disgrace of maintaining penal laws against this sister Church was brought home to many minds. The death of Charles Edward removed the Jacobite proclivities of the Church, and in 1792 an Act was passed granting complete toleration to the Scottish Church on the condition of praying for the King and taking the oaths of allegiance. A remnant of the ancient jealousy, however, was allowed somewhat to mar these tardy concessions. Clergy ordained in Scotland were not eligible for a benefice or even for a curacy in England.³

¹ Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 665-660. ² Russell, ii. 407.

³ By subsequent Acts of Parliament this restriction has been modified, but a clergyman in Scottish orders still requires the approval of an English bishop before he can be beneficed or serve a cure in England.

6. The history of the Church in Ireland during the eighteenth century presents somewhat of a contrast to that of Scotland. In Ireland the influence of the governing body was directed to the support and establishment of the Reformed Church, amidst a population far more generally hostile to it than the people of Scotland were to the episcopal communion. The effect of this was that the rulers of the Church, secure in this powerful support, were for the most part negligent and careless in the prosecution of their work, and especially in that most important part of it, the approaching the people in their own language. This mistaken policy was in a great measure due to the peculiar nature of the support and patronage which the Church in Ireland received from the English Government. A deliberate attempt was in fact made to anglicise Ireland by the agency of the Church. With this view preferment was given but sparingly to the Irish clergy, but recruits were constantly sent over from England, whose special work was to be to uphold "the English interest," and who cared but little for the native population, crushed and ground down by penal laws. This was abundantly demonstrated in the reign of Queen Anne, when a great opportunity was given to the Irish Church for showing some sympathy for the people of the land. At that time the Convocation of the clergy, summoned under writs to the archbishops, was allowed to meet. This strictly ecclesiastical assembly had never before met in the reformed Irish Church. The Synods of 1615, 1634, 1666 had been summoned under the clause in the bishops' writs, which directed the Parliamentary attendance of the clergy, no writs to the archbishops having been issued in Ireland as in England. The Parliamentary writs had fallen into disuse, but in 1703 they were revived. Then the clergy themselves petitioned against their summons under this form, and provincial writs to the archbishops were issued, under which the clergy of the different provinces met together in Dublin¹ in 1703.

7. The clergy of the Lower House showed a commendable zeal in endeavouring to promote discipline, and especially in desiring the appointment of mission preachers

¹ Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, ii. 164.

qualified to address the Irish in their own language. They desired also the printing of the Bible, the Prayer Book, and some religious books in the Irish tongue. But the bishops were utterly indifferent, and, in fact, hostile to doing anything.¹ They cared but little for the natives, and though they professed to be zealous for the English interest, they took very bad ways of upholding it. Some of them ordained promiscuously all applicants, with or without title. The majority of them were non-resident in their Sees, spending their time in England, in London or Bath, and the English ministers found these quasi-sinecures convenient pieces of patronage, giving to political partisans a good position in society and a comfortable income without any onerous duties. Their favours fell for the most part on Englishmen. The chaplains of the lord lieutenant were supposed to have a special claim, and during the reign of George I. a regular system was established, viz. that the bishops of "the English interest" should always be in at least a majority over the bishops of the Irish interest. During the earlier part of the eighteenth century the "Irish interest" was represented by a prelate of singular power and vigour—King, Archbishop of Dublin. To contend with and check his influence, Hugh Boulter, Bishop of Bristol, was sent over to be Archbishop of Armagh. His *Correspondence* gives a striking picture of the state of things prevailing in the Church of Ireland. He declares himself to desire his authority "for no other end but to serve his Majesty," but, if it is to be preserved, English appointments must be made; "as for a native of the country, I can hardly doubt but, whatever his behaviour has been, and his promises may be, when he is once in that station he will put himself at the head of the Irish interest in the Church at least."² The system thus recommended by Primate Boulter was regularly pursued. Of forty bishops made in the earlier part of the reign of George III. twenty-two were Englishmen. All the primates appointed during the eighteenth century were English. Of eighteen archbishops of Dublin and Cashel during the same period ten were English.

¹ See Dr. Ball's *Reformed Church of Ireland*, pp. 169, 175.

² Boulter's *Correspondence*, i. 157.

8. With prelates but little interested in the religious progress of the Church no real advance could be expected. Some of those preferred indeed were direct hindrances, being notorious for their heterodoxy, as were Rundle, Bishop of Derry, and Clayton, Bishop of Clogher. Others were badly conspicuous in other ways, though there were not wanting admirable examples of the virtues befitting a Christian prelate, such as were seen in Bishop Berkeley. Among the lower clergy there were many zealous and self-denying men, who, amidst the greatest difficulties, were striving to uphold the Church which they loved. One of their chief difficulties was the custom prevalent in the eighteenth century of the union of parishes. The bishops had the power of uniting, during one incumbency, as many benefices as they pleased. Hence pluralities became the ordinary custom, and large numbers of the deserving clergy were compelled to serve on miserable stipends as curates. To such an extent had this abuse run, that it had become customary for favoured Presbyters to hold several benefices by *commendam*, without institution or induction, or even taking out a faculty.¹ Acts of Parliament were also passed during the reign of George I. to facilitate the permanent union of parishes, and to enable parish churches to be pulled down and erected on sites fitted for the new area of the parish. No less than 109 churches were changed during the century under the operation of these Acts.² A more salutary provision of these Acts was the power given in them to divide parishes, where, as in the north, the tithes had immensely increased in value. The union of parishes was a virtual abandonment of the ground, and even where a church was maintained it was often impossible for the incumbent to reside. This was greatly due to the almost entire loss of glebe lands which had taken place in the various convulsions of the country, and without some glebe it was held impossible for an Irish clergyman to reside on his benefice. Primate Boulter endeavoured to remedy the grievance with a high hand. "A great part of our clergy," he writes in 1727, "have no parsonage houses, nor glebes to build them on.

¹ Boulter's *Letters*, i. 28.

² Mant, ii. 307.

All agree no clergyman in the country can live without a moderate glebe in his hands. We have therefore been framing an Act to empower those who are under settlements (which, it appears, at this time most of the estates of Ireland are) to give a glebe at the full improved rent to be settled by a jury. Having endeavoured to provide glebes, we oblige all future incumbents, having convenient glebes, to build. All are allowed three-fourths of what they lay out, but we see nothing but force will make them build.”¹ This Bill was so violently opposed that it failed for the time, but three years afterwards an Act was passed which greatly facilitated the building of glebe houses.

9. The attention of the historian is necessarily drawn rather to cases of scandal and negligence than to records of devotion and ministerial labour. Doubtless there were many prelates in the Irish Church of the eighteenth century who might well be compared with Berkeley in his twenty years' zealous labour in the diocese of Cloyne, and many presbyters who might rank with Philip Skelton in his successful work in the large and neglected parish of Templecarn. But the abuses are so prevalent that they overshadow and obscure the good work. The records of ruined churches, pluralities and non-residence, and the absence of all attempts to reach an alien and hostile population, meet us at every point. The stream of foreign appointments continues to flow without having much to excuse it. Primate Hoadley, who succeeded Boulter in 1742, was famous for his devotion to agriculture. Primate Stone, who followed in 1747, was remarkable as an active secretary of State, but is only known to the literary or theological world as the doubtful author of one visitation sermon. He was succeeded in 1764 by Primate Robinson, whose fame appears to rest on the magnificence of the state which he maintained, and the buildings which he erected. The visits of Wesley, Whitefield, and Rowland Hill, did but little for the improvement of the Church in Ireland. Matters were at their worst when a series of outrages, which began towards the latter part of the century, and culminated in the savage rebellion of 1798,

¹ Boulter's *Letters*, i. 169.

taught the Government that it was impossible to uphold a Church with exceptional privileges by the savage machinery of persecuting laws. Penal legislation now began to be relaxed, and for the benefit of the two countries and the two Churches a project was entertained of bringing about the complete union of England and Ireland.

10. In the Act of Union of 1800 it was ordained by Article V. "that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called 'The United Church of England and Ireland'; and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union."¹ Article IV. provided that four lords spiritual, by rotation of sessions, should be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; the archbishop of one of the four Archiepiscopal Sees being always one.

11. The number of Irish Sees at this time was twenty-two—four archbishoprics and eighteen bishoprics. All the Sees except two were provided with residences. There were thirty-three deaneries and thirty-four archdeaconries. Chapters existed in most of the Sees, but in some were deficient in numbers. Some of the Sees also were without cathedral churches. There were 1120 benefices with cure of souls, and 111 sinecures. But for these benefices there were only 1001 churches, so that many benefices were without a church; and in 1792 Ireland contained only 354 parsonage houses. It was reasonable to suppose that the very defective state of things existing in the Church of Ireland at the time of the Union, as regards its material condition, would be ameliorated by its junction with the Church of England. And so in effect it proved. There

¹ 40 George III. c. 38.

were, however, some provisions of the Act which calamitously stood in the way. The Irish Church surrendered its nationality, and by binding itself for ever to be conformed to the Church of England, left no room for any synodical action of its own to meet the wants of various sorts which, from time to time, must come to the front in every vigorous Church.¹ Previously to the Union, the Irish Church had had a history of its own. Now it was merged in the Church of England, without any provision being made for its having a voice in the synodical action of the Church of England. The transaction exhibits that ignorance of the nature and requirements of a Church which was prevalent in those days. But, doubtless, it brought increase of vigour, diminution of secularity among the prelates, and better conditions of religious life, to the Church of Ireland.

¹ There was originally in the draft of the Bill a clause referring to Convocation, and making provision for the summoning of the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church together with those of England, but the clause "being thought unnecessary, and likely to raise objections" was ultimately omitted, and no mention whatever was made of Convocation.—Dr. Ball, *The Reformed Church of Ireland*, p. 222.

CHAPTER IX.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHURCH REVIVAL

1800-1812

1. The Evangelicals not calculated for producing a general revival. 2. Co-operation with Dissenters—The Religious Tract Society. 3. The Bible Society—Bishop Porteus. 4. Objections to united action with Dissenters—Bishop Jebb. 5. Beginnings of Church life—"Nobody's Friends"—Mr. Stevens. 6. The Rev. Thomas Sikes. 7. Mr. Norris—Mr. Van Mildert—Dr. Wordsworth. 8. Joshua Watson—The "Hackney Phalanx." 9. The Christian Knowledge Society—Prejudices against it. 10. The Prayer Book and Homily Society. 11. Want of education among the people. 12. Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster. 13. Foundation of the National Society. 14. Organisation and work of the Society.

1. THE "Evangelicals," of whom some account has been given in a previous chapter, were not, in spite of their zeal, calculated to bring about a true revival of the Church of England. Their views were too much concentrated on special objects, and did not extend to the general bearings of religion on the whole Church. While producing strong effects upon some minds, the character of their teaching was by no means attractive to the many. They considered it necessary to be continually depreciating good works, and to dwell persistently on the helplessness and hopelessness of human nature. They were ready to accept nothing as done for God which did not fall in with the exact formulæ of their thinkings. The help of those who did not symbolise with them was unpalatable to them, and worthless in their eyes. Mr. Simeon may fairly be regarded as the leader of this party during the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and Mr. Simeon thus records his appreciation of his brother's conduct—"He is full of kindness. I wished to show him the defects that are in all his charit-

able actions, on account of the want of a principle of love to God, and on account of the self-complacency to which they administer. . . . I strove to convince him that all his good deeds were of no value in the sight of God for want of a religious principle ; and that they even *increased his danger*, on account of their appearing to supersede the necessity of real godliness.”¹ On such principles a general co-operation in religious work, with all who were prepared in any degree to assist, would scarcely be welcomed with heartiness. The whole system, in fact, of these good men, was one of individual and party earnestness rather than of general Church action.

2. Convinced as the “Evangelicals” were of the paramount importance of some of the doctrines of the Christian creed over others, they were ready to join themselves in association with those who, like themselves, set the highest value on such doctrines (even when these were outside the Church), rather than with that section of their own Church which, as they thought, was slack and indifferent on these vital points. Regarding the old Church Societies for Christian Knowledge and Propagating the Gospel as too much tinctured with the stain of self-righteousness, and too timid in their expression of vital truths, they sought other avenues by which to extend their zeal and usefulness. They were not inclined to court the Wesleyan Methodists, whose Arminianism revolted them, and with regard to whom the bitterness of the late controversy was not yet forgotten ; but with the Dissenters of the “Three Denominations”²—all Calvinists like themselves—they thought they might fittingly co-operate without any sacrifice of principle. Hence the foundation in the year 1799 of the Religious Tract Society, “for the gratuitous dispersion and cheap sale of religious tracts.” For the members of this Society there was no exact doctrinal basis, but a general supervision over the tracts was exercised, to ensure in them an earnest advocacy of what were held to be vital doctrines. From an early report of the Society it appears that its issue of tracts during the first years of

¹ *Life of Simeon*, by Carus, p. 221.

² Baptists, Presbyterians, Independents.

its existence exceeded a million yearly. It stood in a sort of antagonism, felt if not avowed, to the old Church Society of Christian Knowledge, with its perhaps less attractive publications; but without doubt it did a valuable work both in reaching and influencing the less educated, and in quickening the zeal of its promoters and supporters, and teaching them to work together for religious objects.

3. This zeal, and this method of employing it, soon found expression in the foundation of a more important and more comprehensive Society than that for disseminating religious tracts. In 1804 was founded the British and Foreign Bible Society,¹ for the printing and disseminating cheap editions of the English Scriptures, and for procuring the translation of the Scriptures into various languages, and the dispersion of the translated copies throughout all the countries of the world. The Scriptures were to be printed without note or comment, and on this ground it was held that *all* denominations of Christians might unite, and that thus a bond of union might be supplied, and some of the bitterness of controversy, which has unhappily marred Christianity, might be done away, without the sacrifice of any principle. To those who looked upon the Church merely as an "establishment," depending for its existence on civil sanctions and Statute Law,² there was no great difficulty in accepting co-operation on these terms, when the goodness of the object seemed to invite it. Thus the excellent Bishop Porteus, strict though he was in his views on order, at once accepted the office of Vice-President of the Society. His biographer thus states his reasons for this step:—"The plan of this Society embraced a most extensive range of action, and in order to raise an adequate fund it was thought necessary not to

¹ Mr. Overton says, "The circumstances which led to its foundation date from 1787."—*Evangelical Revival*, p. 135.

² Bishop Porteus in his last charge thus describes the Church of England—"An ancient and venerable establishment—a Church founded on the Gospel of Christ, cemented with the blood of its martyrs; *constructed* by some of the wisest, most learned, most pious, most eminent men of that or almost any period."—*Life*, by Hodgson, p. 175.

confine it merely to members of the Established Church, but to take in without exception all denominations of Christians. But then, on the other hand, it was laid down as a primary and fundamental rule, from which there was in no instance to be the slightest deviation, that its sole and exclusive object should be the circulation of the Scriptures only, without note or comment. A limitation thus absolute and unequivocal removed from the bishop's mind all doubt and hesitation. He saw instantly that a design of such magnitude, which aimed at nothing less than the dispersion of the Bible over every accessible part of the world, could only be accomplished by the association of men of all religious persuasions. He looked forward to great results from such a combination of effort. He entertained the hope that it might operate as a bond of union between contending parties, and that by bringing them together in one point of vast moment, about which there could hardly be a diversity of opinion, it might gradually allay that bitterness of dispute and put an end to those unhappy divisions which have so long tarnished the credit of the Christian world."¹ The charitable hopes of this good prelate appear to have been shared by the Bishops of Durham and Salisbury, who also became supporters of the Society.

4. On the other hand, those who believed in the Church as the divinely-appointed teacher of the nation were not altogether easy at what seemed to them to be a compromise of its position. We may take the words of a devout and talented Irish Churchman, John Jebb, afterwards Bishop of Limerick, written a few years after the commencement of the Society, as an exponent of these views—"The premature and spurious unity of a theologico-political compact is a unity rather of pretence than of reality; it is far different from Christian unity of spirit, and in the end it will scarcely be found a legitimate bond of peace. To say that subordinate points of difference shall be merged in order to the co-operative promotion of paramount objects is, in fact, to say that many points of faith and discipline heretofore delivered to the saints, and for which the saints

¹ Hodgson's *Life of Porteus*, p. 210.

of old jealously contended, are in these days of light and liberality to be sacrificed—and sacrificed to what? to the furtherance of a mawkish, unintelligible, generalised being, which it would be a mockery to call a system. If we are to abstract all Christianity so far as practically to reject all and every the specific differences of the multifarious denominations of Christians which compose the Bible Society, what, I pray you, will be the generic remnant? It will resemble real Christianity about as much as that two-legged unfeathered animal, a plucked cock, resembled Plato's man.”¹ “The truth is,” he writes in another place, “that amongst the Dissenters, and amongst the Church of England men, we shall invariably find the most unsophisticated piety, and the most zealous attachment to Catholic verities, where there is least disposition to recede from the proper ground of their respective callings. Dissenters have in too many instances receded and diverged, and in none of those instances have they failed to make shipwreck of their faith. Among Churchmen to recede or diverge is a new thing. We have had coldness indeed, and ignorance, and profligacy, and total disregard for anything connected with religion. But in the Church of England religion cultivated in the sectarian manner; the forms of the Church retained but its spirit neglected; the doctrines of the Church (as they explain them) strongly asserted, and its order lightly regarded—all this is a new thing upon the earth, and its consequences who can tell?”²

5. The foregoing extract represents a tone of mind and spirit which was now beginning to gather power. The terrible excesses and blasphemous irreligionism of the French Revolution had deeply affected the minds of many good men in England, and caused them to reflect what barrier the Church of England had to oppose to the prevalence of similar sentiments in their own land. They saw her gradually shaking off the apathy which had long too much impeded her usefulness, possessing many good and devout clergy and some active and energetic prelates. They saw a good deal of revivalism here and there, but

¹ *Correspondence of Bishop Jebb and A. Knox*, ii. 163. ² *Ib.* ii. 201.

they failed to recognise in it the true Church spirit—truth, built on the solid foundations of apostolic order and primitive antiquity. To give expression to this, and to show that the Church was capable of rising up to the requirements of the time, practically nothing was being done. The people were left almost absolutely uneducated. No new churches to meet the increasing population were being built. No attempt, worthy of the name, was being made to show the vitality of the Church by its missionary zeal; but little religious literature of a thoroughly sound and yet attractive character was being provided. These great wants brought to the front a band of zealous men whose disinterested labours, directed in the most salutary and useful directions, were the beginning of a great change in the condition of the English Church. The first of these to be mentioned was William Stevens, the friend and biographer of Jones of Nayland, who had worthily upheld the best traditions of English Churchmanship throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century.¹ In a kindred spirit Mr. Stevens applied his leisure and the means which he possessed as a successful merchant to forward all Church work. By munificent donations to the poorer clergy, by assiduous work in endeavouring to increase the usefulness of the old Church Societies, by forwarding the fund raised for the help of the impoverished Scottish clergy, and by the employment of his pen in many valuable works, Mr. Stevens did good service in his day. But his principal service was the bringing together, in a club or society,² a set of men, both of clergy and laity, thoroughly intent on doing good, and who, by the mutual counsel which they thus obtained, were able to devise the best means of doing it. Of a buoyant, cheerful, and lovable character, Mr. Stevens attracted round him many of the best men of his day, and he did a work of most useful character by infusing a thoroughly Church spirit into the coterie.

¹ Mr. Jones was the originator of the *British Critic*, a periodical which for many years upheld theological knowledge and churchman-like sentiments in the Church of England. The organ of the Evangelicals was the *Christian Observer*, and of the Dissenters the *Eclectic*.

² Called by the quaint name of "Nobody's Friends."

6. Another member of this Society worthy of honourable mention, who may be regarded as one of the first assertors in modern days of what are styled High Church principles, was Thomas Sikes, rector of Guilsborough. Mr. Sikes had been thrown at Oxford among some of the ardent disciples of the "Evangelical" system, but had not been attracted to them. He saw that the teachers of this school were in danger of setting "men above ordinances," and altogether ignoring Church obligations. "The effect was a continual secession of young clergymen to the chapels of Nonconformity, a result which might have been expected, when their guides were teaching the inquirer to let the doctrine which he heard from the pulpit, whether in church or conventicle, determine his place of worship."¹ In after life Mr. Sikes addressed himself to the task of calling to the minds of all those whom he could reach the prominent fact that one article in the Creed—"I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church"—was altogether left out of the teaching of the clergy and of the principles of the laity. "He used to say that wherever he went he saw many signs of earnest minds among the clergy of his time, and those who were then rising into public notice; but whether owing to the security of our civil establishment, or a false charity to dissent, one great truth appeared by common agreement to have been suppressed. The article itself involved ritual discipline, orders, and sacred ordinances generally, and its exclusion tended to the subversion of all."² Mr. Sikes may thus fairly be regarded as the precursor of the Oxford Tract School.

7. Other prominent figures among this knot of good and earnest men were Henry Handley Norris, a man of large fortune, singular activity of mind, and great devotion to good works; and William van Mildert, the most accomplished theologian of his day, whose great work in his edition of Waterland's *Works*, and his admirable life of that most eminent of divines, was a boon of no small value to the Church of England. Van Mildert, in his earlier days, lent a willing hand to the work of writing and circulating such tracts and treatises as the times seemed

¹ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, i. 51.

² *Ib.*

especially to require. These, with others, were brought together in a publication called *The Churchman's Remembrancer*, in imitation of Mr. Jones's collection, *The Scholar Armed*. As Boyle Lecturer, as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and finally as one of the most influential prelates on the bench, Van Mildert well served the Church in his generation. Neither must the accomplished and amiable Master of Trinity, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, be passed by in this short enumeration of the society gathered around Mr. Stevens, with the great common purpose of doing good on the lines of the Church of England. Dr. Wordsworth was an energetic and devoted parish priest, as well as a constant assistant in the literary work of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, until he was called away to preside over the great college which he did so much to raise and extend. These were some of the chief workers; but the most energetic and devoted of them all remains yet to be mentioned.

8. Joshua Watson was descended from a race of Cumberland "statesmen," and was early engaged with his father in business as a wine merchant in London. He married a sister of the Thomas Sikes mentioned above, and, adopting heartily those views on the divine character of the Church which Mr. Sikes advocated, he devoted his energies, his fortune, his singular capacity for business, and the immense influence which the sweetness of his character gave him, to the service of the Church of England throughout the whole of a long life. Fully appreciated and constantly employed by the excellent prelate who then presided over the Church of England, Archbishop Manners-Sutton, Mr. Watson was the life and soul of all Church work in the earlier part of the century, and the results of his labours were of incalculable value. It is hardly too much to say that he gave organisation and the power of expansion to the Church of England. Under the influence of him and his fellow-workers new life animated the old Church Societies, a new and infinitely valuable power was brought to bear upon the education of the people, the solid foundation of enduring Christian missions was laid, the way was smoothed for the erection of new churches, and no field of Christian

activity and usefulness was neglected. Mr. Watson's brother was rector of Hackney; his friend, Henry Handley Norris, had a chapel-of-ease in that parish. He himself bought a house at Clapton, within five minutes' walk of Hackney Rectory. Thus this band of Church workers came to be known as the "Hackney Phalanx," or the "Clapton Sect," with an evident reference to the "Clapham Sect," the well-known soubriquet of the "Evangelicals."

9. The first work for the Church in which Mr. Watson seems to have been engaged was his attempt, in conjunction with Mr. Norris and Dr. Wordsworth, to give new life to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge by the formation of district committees and depositories. This very obvious improvement on the old plan of concentrating all the work of the Society in Bartlett's Buildings was, nevertheless, regarded by some as "revolutionary," and strongly opposed. It had the effect, however, in a short time, of trebling the income of the Society, and making a much larger class of persons acquainted with its useful publications.¹ There was much need to use every effort to increase the popularity of the old Society, whose work was at this time being somewhat contemptuously treated by the new school of earnest men. The Christian Knowledge Society provided the Holy Scriptures at a moderate cost, and there was nothing to prevent this part of its work being enlarged to any extent, nor to hinder its supplying the Scriptures in the various different languages into which missionary requirements might need to have them translated. But the prejudice which seems to have arisen against the Society, or the supposed advantage of co-operating with others outside the pale of the Church, led many rather to favour the erection of the new Society, which has been mentioned, than the invigoration of the old institution. And yet it might seem that no institution could have stronger claims on the support of all who were in earnest about religion than the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The evangelical party had fitly recognised the importance of missionary work by the foundation of the Church Missionary Society; but what

¹ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, i. 95.

was the agency that throughout the long apathy of the eighteenth century had redeemed the Church of England from the reproach of altogether forgetting the heathen?¹ It was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was this Society which adopted and supported the Danish missions in India. It was this Society which sent out and upheld Christian Friedrich Schwartz, the founder of the Church in Tinnevely, whose powers and labours as a missionary have never been exceeded. To say nothing of the immense claims which the old Society had for its home work, these proofs of a truly evangelical spirit should have recommended it. Yet Mr. Watson and his friends found great difficulty in advancing its interests, and the foundation of the Tract and Bible Societies seemed to indicate a decided repugnance to recognise its claims.

10. This jealousy was carried to the highest point—even to utter absurdity—by the foundation, in 1812, of the Prayer Book and Homily Society. The inducement held out to subscribers to this remarkable institution was that they might obtain a copy of the Homilies, well printed and bound, for the sum of one guinea. On the ground of this somewhat slender privilege, it was proposed to establish a rival association to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. “I don’t think it possible,” says a preacher of that day, “to adduce any one instance of this party spirit more strong than the formation and continuance of this Society. Whatever may be said of the connection of Christianity with the Bible Society, their forming themselves into and continuing to maintain a distinct society for distributing the Prayer Book and Homilies, both of which may be distributed to any required extent from the stores of the Christian Knowledge Society, convicts the members of this new institution of a decided desire to form a division in the Church.”²

¹ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was almost exclusively occupied with the American colonists. It sent one missionary to the Gold Coast of Africa, but its funds were exceedingly limited. In 1709, out of an income of less than £1400, it gave the sum of £20 to the Danish missions.—Tucker’s *Under His Banner*, p. 18.

² Sermon by Mr. Mereweather, p. 24.

11. The general interest now beginning to be felt in religious matters was thus not unattended by one of the drawbacks to which it is ordinarily liable, namely, the increase of party spirit. This was also the case on a subject which was now to assume its fitting importance in the minds of Churchmen—that of the Christian education of the people. Some little had been done for the education of the children of the working classes during the eighteenth century by the foundation and support of charity schools. In these the children were sometimes housed, fed, and clothed, as well as taught. The Christian Knowledge Society had established and supported many schools in London and other towns.¹ But the greater part of the teaching in country districts, where any teaching existed, was left in the hands of illiterate dames, who were unable to teach beyond the merest rudiments and those very imperfectly. The Bishop of Norwich, preaching in 1810 before the Society of Patrons at St. Paul's, asserts that "nearly two-thirds of the children of the labouring poor in this kingdom had little or no education."² The apathy which had existed on this all-important matter was eminently discreditable to Churchmen.

12. At length relief came, but here it must be confessed that its coming was not a little due to the spirit of rivalry and party. A singular controversy had arisen as to the merits of originating what was then held to be a great educational discovery, viz. that classes of children might be taught by monitors, and might learn unitedly, profiting by one another's mistakes and their corrections. This plan produced an economy of labour, and kindled a spirit of emulation in the children. It had been first put in practice by Dr. Andrew Bell, a chaplain at Madras, in the Male Orphan Military School there, and had proved eminently successful, and given much satisfaction to the Indian authorities. Returning to England in 1797, Dr. Bell had published the report of his school labours³ in the hope of their being taken up in England; but he

¹ See *Past and Present of the S.P.C.K.*, p. 6.

² *Historical Account of the National Society*, p. 10.

³ Under the name of an "Experiment in Education," 1797.

himself had made no great attempt to bring the subject into notice. The system was little known until Mr. Lancaster, a Quaker schoolmaster, having adopted it, and raised a subscription among his sect for founding a Free School to be conducted on this method, published in 1803 an account of his work. In the first edition of this work he freely acknowledges his obligations to Dr. Bell, but in subsequent editions, as the popularity of his schools increased, he withdrew these admissions, and claimed the system as an original discovery.¹ He now advocated the establishment of a *national* system of education, which he said ought to be unsectarian, to be established on "general Christian principles, and on them only."² On these grounds the friends and admirers of Mr. Lancaster founded the "British and Foreign School Society" in 1807. The danger was imminent. The people were about to be lost to the Church. Yet but few seemed to see the peril. In an apologue, published in the *Morning Post*, Lord Radstock represents the bishops as all profoundly asleep, while Joseph Lancaster surveys them with contempt.³ But presently there came an awakening. Mrs. Trimmer sounded the first note of warning.⁴ But it was the premature song of triumph of their enemies which really first aroused Churchmen. "A writer in the *Times* warns the clergy against instituting schools in which children are to be instructed in the national religion, because of the hostile feelings which will be excited between them and the children of the anti-church institutions. As if in such a case it were the establishment which ought to quit the field! . . . It is the cackling of the enemy's geese which has in this instance alarmed the garrison."⁵

13. A general feeling was now prevalent among

¹ *Origin, Nature, and Object of the New System of Education* (Lond., 1812), p. 100.

² Lancaster's *Introduction*, p. 24.

³ *Historical Account of the National Society*, p. 13.

⁴ In a pamphlet published in 1805, "A comparative view of the new plan of education of Mr. Joseph Lancaster and of the system of Christian education founded by our pious forefathers."

⁵ *Origin, Nature, and Object of the New System of Education*, p. 196.

Churchmen that a great effort must be made to rescue the Church from this peril. This was brought to a point by a sermon preached before the Society of Patrons of Charity Schools at St. Paul's, June 13, 1811, by Dr. Herbert Marsh, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. In this sermon Dr. Marsh pointed out that the reformers of the Church of England had laid the foundation of a national system of education by the ordinance of catechising. He showed the difference between a Church education and the education given by Mr. Lancaster. He proved that the origination of the new system was due to Dr. Bell, and that the system of Dr. Bell was well adapted for a Church education; and he made a powerful appeal to Churchmen to promote the welfare of the Church of England in this important matter. This sermon was immediately printed and widely distributed by the Christian Knowledge Society, and the bishops being at last aroused, a meeting was held, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, October 16, 1811, when it was determined to found an Education Society, which should "extend its influence over the whole kingdom." A committee was appointed to draw up a scheme, and a general meeting was held on October 21, at Bow Church, when the scheme was approved and the archbishop was requested to solicit the Prince Regent to become the patron of the Society. To this his Royal Highness readily consented. The Archbishop of Canterbury was constituted president; the Archbishop of York and the bishops of both provinces vice-presidents, together with ten temporal peers or privy counsellors; and these, with a committee of sixteen, were to manage the affairs of the Society. The really working officers were the Rev. T. Walmsley, secretary, and Joshua Watson, Esq., treasurer. To this last good man the origination of the Society was due perhaps more than to any other single person. He invited to his house at Clapton a few of his friends, with whom he took counsel as to how to bring the matter to a practical issue. Together with Mr. Norris and Mr. Bowles he made all the preliminary arrangements, and obtained numerous promises of support. He brought to bear the

great influence which he had with the Archbishop of Canterbury to induce him to take a prominent part in the work. He gave his time, labour, and great financial abilities to the service of the Society without stint, and administered its business matters as treasurer with great success for thirty years.¹

14. The National Society, as the new Society was fittingly called, declared its object to be "to instruct and educate the poor in suitable learning, works of industry, and the principles of the Christian religion according to the Established Church." It proposed to do this by establishing schools, but principally by training teachers who should be able to introduce Dr. Bell's system in all the parishes of England. With this view a large central school was established in Baldwin's Gardens, Gray's Inn Road, where Dr. Bell, who was appointed superintendent, could give practical instruction in the working of his system and train teachers to carry it out. Other large schools in London, in which masters and mistresses could also be trained, placed themselves in connection with the Society. Mr. Johnson, curate of Grasmere, was given to Dr. Bell as an assistant, and a female head-teacher and trainer was appointed for the girls' schools. The Society had no intention of multiplying schools under its own direction, but having provided itself with what were held to be sufficient for the training of teachers, it desired to leave other schools to the support and management of the several parishes, "thinking it more expedient that the schools should be supported by their several parishes, and be under the immediate inspection and government of those whose local knowledge would be likely to make better provision for each case. They will consider all schools founded upon the same principles, and so reported to them, as parts of their body and system; and they are ready and willing at the same time to offer every assistance in their power in giving aid to the parishes or districts towards the providing or building proper schools, or more especially in providing proper teachers to instruct them in the new system, or in receiving and training persons that may be

¹ See Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, chap. v.

sent to them to be qualified for teachers by exhibiting to them at the central school the Madras system of education in full action.”¹ Plans for sending out organising masters to schools, and for the inspection and visitation of schools, soon followed. The pupil-teacher system of later days was inaugurated by a plan of sending out boys and girls to assist in organisation. By these various means the mutual system of instruction was made known all over the kingdom. It was introduced into the army, and partially into the navy. It was taken up in the county gaols and carried into Ireland and foreign parts.² Diocesan and district societies were received into union with the parent Society, one necessary condition being “that all the children received into the schools be, without exception, instructed in the Liturgy and Catechism, and that in conformity with the directions in that Liturgy, the children of each school do constantly attend divine service in their parish church, or other place of worship under the Establishment, wherever the same is practicable, on the Lord’s Day, unless such reason for their non-attendance be assigned as shall be satisfactory to the persons having direction of the school; and that no religious tracts be admitted into any school but such as are or shall be on the list of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.”³ The value of this energetic attempt to educate the people in Church principles cannot be over-estimated. The success of the Society was very great. It soon altogether outstripped the work of the rival Society which had been instrumental in calling it into being. When in 1833 the Government made its first timid grant to the cause of education, it was found that the National Society had caused 690 schools to be erected, the British and Foreign Society only 160.

¹ *Historical Account of the National Society*, p. 30.

² *Ib.* p. 38.

³ *Ib.* p. 43.

CHAPTER X.

THE OLD STATUS OF THE CHURCH THREATENED

1812-1833

1. Establishment of the See of Calcutta. 2. Bishop Middleton. 3. Mr. Watson's proposal for rearrangement of missions. 4. Bishop's College, Calcutta. 5. Opposition to missions. 6. Church building. 7. Consecration of the first of the churches built from the grant. 8. Bishops for the West Indies. 9. Religious periodicals. 10. Dangers from unbelief. 11. Alarm of the friends of the Church. 12. State of the Church at this period. 13. Malicious attacks. 14. Origin of the Ecclesiastical Commission. 15. Alarm of Churchmen. 16. The clerical address to the Primate. 17. Character of the address. 18. The lay declaration. 19. Effects of this.

1. BY the formation of the National Society the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was relieved of a portion of its work, and was able to apply increased energy and more ample funds to its most proper business—that, namely, of providing wholesome Christian literature for the people. In a short time the Society was also relieved of another branch of its labours, and was no longer directly employed in directing Christian missions. It has been already pointed out that to the care of this Society in upholding the Danish mission in Tranquebar, almost the only mission work done by the Church of England in the eighteenth century was due. But more extended notions as to the duties of the Church began now to prevail, and a remodelling and reinvigorating of the old Church societies was contemplated. Church workers such as Dr. Van Mildert, Mr. Norris, Dr. Wordsworth, and Joshua Watson, were not likely to remain satisfied with one successful scheme, but rather to be encouraged by this to make fresh ventures in extending the influence of the Church. The Government had at length become convinced that the

American colonies had been lost mainly through the absence of the Episcopate, and were disposed to sanction the appointment of a bishop for Calcutta to superintend the numerous Indian chaplains, and to perform the necessary episcopal acts for the English and native Christians. This project was diligently furthered by all the best friends of the Church, as well as by Archbishop Manners-Sutton, and on May 8, 1814, was happily brought to a successful issue by the consecration of Thomas Fanshawe Middleton to the See of Calcutta, the first bishop of the Church of England in India.

2. The choice of the new prelate was an eminently happy one. Not only was Bishop Middleton an able man and a finished scholar, but, what was of more importance, he had the spirit and views of a good Churchman, and was not likely in performing his duties to be led away by any narrow or sectarian prejudices. He at once held out a helping hand to the struggling Danish mission, and for a time entirely supported its missionaries.¹ When Bishop Middleton reached India "scarcely a decent church was to be found. Services were held in verandahs, in riding schools, anywhere. Many of the chaplains had no desire for episcopal control, and persisted in regarding the Governor-General as their bishop."² The bishop had in fact to create the organisation of a church, and as though the peninsula of India were not sufficient for his care, the island of Ceylon was soon added. It is said that there were at that time some six or seven hundred thousand half-taught Christians in that island³ who had been converted by the Portuguese and Dutch missionaries. For the oversight of these an archdeacon was appointed. The work was everywhere appalling, but the wise and energetic bishop was able to make at least a good beginning.

3. Almost coincidently with the consecration of Bishop Middleton to Calcutta, Joshua Watson had been appointed treasurer of the Christian Knowledge Society, and he at once conceived the project of handing over the missionary

¹ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, i. 178.

² *Under His Banner*, by Rev. H. W. Tucker, p. 27.

³ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, i. 179.

work of the Society to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and making this change the occasion of an earnest appeal to the country for increased funds for the Propagation Society. With this view he presented a memorial to Archbishop Manners-Sutton, pointing out to him how valuable the extension of the missionary action of the Church would be for the Church at home ; and that by putting forward the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel he would "direct into a proper channel much of that well-intended bounty which was now running worse than to waste." "To give perfection to the plan it would only seem further necessary to give it unity, and this might be done by transferring to the Propagation Society, to which they legitimately belong, the missionary trusts of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge ; and then, my lord, the Church of England, strong in her three chartered and ancient societies, each with undivided energy pursuing its own single and simple object, and having a common centre of union in your grace's presidency, might in her Education Society, her Bible and Religious Tract Society, and her Missionary Society, boldly offer to her members all that the most zealous of her communion need desire in the great concern of religious and moral instruction at home and abroad."¹

4. The archbishop readily responded to these views. Under his influence the Christian Knowledge Society made over its missionary trusts to the sister society, which at once voted £5000, to be placed in the hands of Bishop Middleton for the promotion of Christianity in India. But this was not all. The archbishop induced the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, to obtain from the Prince Regent a royal letter authorising collections in all churches for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. By this means £50,000 were obtained.² Grants were made of £5000

¹ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, i. 176.

² This was the first of the royal letters which were continued for about forty years and then no longer issued. The granting of this letter caused no little astonishment. Mr. Simeon writes :—"Wonderful are the tidings I have to communicate. It appears to our governors in the Church that missionaries are sent out by every denomination of

each from the Christian Knowledge Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Bible Society, the last being for the translation of the Scriptures into some of the Asiatic languages. The bishop was now able to enter, with confidence, on that scheme which he had from the first seen to be necessary for the wellbeing of the Church, the founding of a college, in which young native Christians might be well and sufficiently trained for the Christian ministry. In 1820 he laid the foundation-stone of Bishop's College, near Calcutta, intended to be a nursery for native clergy. The college was also designed to serve other purposes—to prepare and publish translations of the Scriptures; to be a home for missionaries engaged in their work when needing rest; and to furnish education for Eurasian and European youths as well as native. These purposes the institution has well served, as many as fifty native students having been resident at one time within its walls.¹

5. Bishop Middleton was succeeded by Reginald Heber, so well remembered for his admirable contributions to sacred poetry. Heber's Episcopate was only a short one. But the Church, once planted in India in its entirety, grew and flourished, until it began to attain goodly dimensions. The Church Missionary Society commenced its work in Madras in 1814, in Calcutta in 1815, and in Bombay in 1820. Its missionaries have worked together in unity with those of the sister society; but all who have had experience of Church work in these eastern lands are of opinion that the main hope for the conversion of the natives is staked on a plentiful supply of native ministers, many of whom have from time to time been ordained. The supporters of missionary schemes at this period had great difficulties to contend with. It is undeniable that there has always existed a prejudice against missions, even among

Christians except the Church of England. They have therefore applied to Government for a King's letter to ask subscriptions through all the churches of the kingdom in aid of this good work. I am endeavouring to take care that the Jews shall not be forgotten." Mr. Simeon had been long actively engaged in reviving and advancing the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews.—*Life*, by Carus, p. 475; see *ib.* p. 401.

¹ Tucker's *Under His Banner*, p. 29.

religiously-minded men. Thus Alexander Knox could write to his friend Mr. Jebb:—"I doubt the business altogether. Perhaps it is prejudice, but I have no clear hope of these plans. I suspect even something which I should dislike. Besides, I really think that in such matters particularly 'It is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth,' etc. I have another objection to such plans, because they tend to make religion appear to the world a business of *bustle*, and to have something of a revolutionary character! In fact, I think over-activity is the grand malady of the times, and I think religion will not be benefited by its votaries catching the contagion."¹ Nine years later Mr. Knox is of opinion that the establishment of a bishopric might do something to make the project reasonable, but next year he again comes to the conclusion that it is chimerical. "To-day a young friend of mine, just come from India, breakfasted with me. I asked him various questions about Christian missionaries, and he clearly explained the necessary unproductiveness of all such measures, until, as he said, a way is opened through some political revolution. This agrees with all my preconceptions. I conceive we must gain the rulers by exhibiting a case which speaks for itself. And we must prepare for the diffusion of the Gospel, by purifying and simplifying the matter to be communicated."²

6. Against such senseless prejudices, existing even in the minds of good Churchmen, Mr. Watson and the friends who worked with him had to contend. He was anxious to obtain the foundation of a college at home for the education of missionaries, but this he was not able to accomplish. One of the objects, for which royal letters were considered so desirable, was that it was thought they might induce the clergy to pay some attention to a matter on which they had to appeal to their flocks, and thus create an interest in missions. This interest was as yet felt by very few.³

¹ Knox's *Correspondence*, i. 170.

² *Ib.* ii. 268.

³ Mr. Simeon writes in 1818:—"You will be surprised to hear that we have just had a public meeting at Cambridge for the Missionary Society. I trembled when it was proposed, and recommended the most cautious proceedings."—*Life*, by Carus, p. 496.

Many were doubtless inclined to assert then, as now, that a care for foreign missions was liable to interfere with the proper attention to home needs. This mistake could not have been more thoroughly refuted than it was by the life and labours of Joshua Watson. Certainly his care for India and the colonies did not lead him to neglect the Church at home. Besides his constant labours for the National and the Christian Knowledge Societies, he, in 1817, entered upon a new field of work, which has been productive of the greatest results. It was now that by his care the Church Building Society was commenced (1818). This was at first described as the Church Room or Free Church Society. In drawing up the rules for it Mr. Watson took counsel with Archdeacon Daubeny of Bath, who had been and continued to be a munificent Church builder.¹ The minds of Churchmen seemed to be suddenly awaking to the fact that since the days of Queen Anne scarcely a church had been built in England.² Dr. Wordsworth had now been appointed to the living of Lambeth, and at once projected the building of four new churches. The Government of Lord Liverpool, having had their attention drawn to this most serious want, procured a grant of £1,000,000 from Parliament, and appointed a commission to superintend its distribution.³ Of this commission Joshua Watson was a member, and on it also sat Archdeacon Cambridge; his great friend, Dr. Wordsworth; Dr. Mant, one of the archbishop's chaplains; and some leading laymen. The archbishop had evidently got the ear of the Prime Minister, and obtained pretty well all that he asked for, and the

¹ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, i. 199.

² The whole number of churches built or rebuilt throughout England and Wales during the first seven years of the present century was only twenty-four. Between 1801 and 1820 there were only ninety-six. Between 1821 and 1830 as many as three hundred and eight.—A. H. Hore, *The Church in England*, ii. 221.

³ An additional grant of £500,000 was made in 1824. Part of this was expended in Scotland. These two grants, together with the grant of £100,000 a year made for eleven years to the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, represent the whole of the grants made by the State to the Church since the days of Queen Anne.

archbishop had no counsellor to whom he so constantly referred as he did to Mr. Watson.

7. A letter of Bishop Ryder's¹ of Gloucester to Mr. Watson, speaking of a ceremony then almost unknown, but which has since become common, is worth quoting, as recording the consecration of the first of the Parliamentary Churches:—"The early and kind and unremitting attention you were so good as to pay to my favourite object, the new church at Bitton, is much too strongly impressed upon my mind to allow me to delay any longer the gratifying intelligence that I consecrated it on Tuesday last. In spite of one or two slight defects in architectural taste, it is a fair Gothic structure. In situation 'set upon a hill' indeed, observed and admired by the people for several miles around. Its internal accommodation is excellent both for sight and hearing. The day was almost the only fair one amidst a series of gloomy and tempestuous weather. From 1500 to 1600 persons crowded the area. Many of the dissenters and some of the wildest practical infidels of the neighbourhood were present. Great decorum, attention, and some degree of apparent deep interest, were observable in the congregation. I preached upon the text, 'Where two or three,' etc. . . . The Wesleyan chief has, I understand, shown a very favourable disposition. I believe, that as the application was the first granted, the building is the first consecrated under the commissioners."²

8. At this moment the Church was receiving considerable benefits from the helping hand of the State. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had obtained a royal letter; the Church commission was entrusted with ample funds. In 1823 a royal letter was granted in aid of the National Society, and Mr. Watson was able to write, "We have obtained attention to our plan for the establishment of a West Indian Episcopate." Whether the plan ultimately adopted for this purpose was that of Mr. Watson or not, at any rate the State came manfully forward on this

¹ Bishop Ryder, who had been Dean of Wells, was also a close and attached friend of Mr. Simeon's.

² Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, p. 230. The date of the letter is Sept. 17, 1821.

occasion in support of the Church. Two bishoprics—those of Jamaica and Barbadoes—were founded (1824), the stipends of the bishops being provided out of the public funds. The islands were divided into parishes, to each of which a rector and curate were assigned, their incomes being a charge on the public revenue. Attempts were now also being made, not without some considerable hopes of success, for increasing the Indian Episcopate. Mr. Watson's scheme, after the melancholy death of Bishop Heber, was to send out a bishop with a charge to consecrate a certain selected presbyter, and then for these two to consecrate a third bishop. He consulted Dr. Wordsworth as to whether a consecration by one bishop was valid, and was informed by him that the requirement of three was only a matter of order, not of obligation; the plurality being intended to signify the consent of the suffragans of the province to the consecration, which was required by the ancient canons. The scheme, however, for supplying the three Presidencies with a bishop for each was not to be realised for some years.

9. The Church of England at this time was fortunate in the character of those who were promoted to the chief places in her organisation. Bishop Van Mildert at Durham, Bishop Kaye at Lincoln, Bishop Blomfield at Chester, and Bishop Lloyd at Oxford, were excellent examples of Christian prelates. They were all scholars and well learned men, but they united with this qualification a power of practical usefulness and energetic action for the Church which made itself felt everywhere. The clergy were now found ready to combine heartily in societies, and to take wider views of Church influence as extending beyond the limits of their own parishes. They were also beginning to acquire a better knowledge, than had before been generally prevalent, of matters relating to their profession, and of theological subjects. This was much aided by the great improvement in religious periodicals which was now witnessed. The *British Critic*, originated by Mr. Jones of Nayland in the last century, had gone through different phases of character, but about 1824 it fell into the hands of the High Churchmen, and especially of Mr. Norris, and furnished many theological reviews of a

valuable character.¹ Of somewhat a similar strain was *The Christian Remembrancer*, which began its life in 1818 under the editorship of Mr. Iremonger, and did good work for the Church down to quite a recent period. But perhaps a more generally useful publication than either of these was the *British Magazine*, which contained not only reviews of books, but original papers on ecclesiastical matters, correspondence, and a variety of information on almost every subject in which Churchmen were likely to be interested. The editor of this excellent periodical was Hugh James Rose, a talented young Cambridge divine, who had come as a most efficient helper to those who were zealously labouring to extend the influence and power of the Church. Mr. Rose was Christian advocate at Cambridge when he commenced the editorship of the *British Magazine* (1832). His too short life was spent in manifold labours for the Church. He filled many positions of importance, in all of which he did excellent work.

10. A better class of Church literature was in fact one of the great, if not the greatest, need of the time. In the opinion of many there were dangers threatening the Church more pressing than any that could arise from Roman Catholic emancipation, or the disfranchisement of rotten boroughs. A school of practical infidelity was busily at work, and this of a very dangerous character. The publications of the Useful Knowledge Society did not so much argue against Christianity as simply ignore it—a method of proceeding perhaps more likely to be mischievous than the other. The headquarters of this school were the new London University. Its popular organ was the *Penny Magazine*. Alarm was felt by all true lovers of Christianity of whatever school. Dr. Arnold at Rugby, the most liberal of Churchmen, was greatly shocked. “It does seem to me,” he wrote, “as forced and unnatural in us now to dismiss the principles of the Gospel and its great motives from our consideration, as it is to fill our pages with Hebraisms, and to write and speak in the words of the Bible. The slightest touches of Christian principle and Christian hope in the Society’s biographical and historical

¹ Churton’s *Life of Joshua Watson*, i. 279.

articles would be a sort of living salt to the whole.”¹ Dr. Arnold made a practical attempt to introduce a better sort of cheap literature, which, however, proved a failure. Other and more successful attempts were also made to grapple with the danger. It is to these that we mainly owe the foundation of King’s College, London (founded 1829, opened 1831), “as a college in which instruction in the doctrines and duties of Christianity as taught by the Church of England should be for ever combined with other branches of useful education.” The character of this great institution has never varied, and the admirable work it has done for the Church, and in opposing a barrier to the too real dangers which suggested its foundation, cannot be too highly praised.²

11. The development of the democratic principle which was evidenced by the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts (1828), Roman Catholic emancipation (1829), and the passing of the Reform Bill (1832), showed clearly to all who could calmly consider the bearing of events, that the old phase of a church propped up by State aid was rapidly passing away. Many good men were struck with terror at the political outlook, and were ready to resort to means of questionable expediency to preserve the “Establishment.” Thus Dr. Arnold of Rugby published a pamphlet advocating a scheme for comprehending the Dissenters within the national Church, by allowing each sect to use its own form of worship in the parish church at different hours on the Sunday. At the same time he defended the presence of the bishops in the House of Lords, and advocated the increase of their number.³ Against the crude notions which were put forward there was no principle in the public mind to which Churchmen could appeal. The defective teaching complained of by Mr. Sikes had too widely prevailed. The “Evangelicals” had done much for bringing into prominence spiritual religion, but had ignored the Church save as a regulation for order. “An utter ignorance of all rational grounds of attachment to the Church; an oblivion of its spiritual character as an institution not

¹ Stanley’s *Life of Arnold*, i. 276.

² See *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 151.

³ Stanley’s *Life of Arnold*, i. 330.

of man but of God ; the grossest Erastianism most widely prevalent, especially among all classes of politicians.”¹ Dr. Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, had long before² foreseen such a crisis as this, and had taken a hopeful view in spite of it. “Perhaps we may live to see our Dodwells and Hickeses and Colliers divested of the old peculiarities, shorn of some excrescences, and enlarged by a philosophic apprehension of the Scripture. And perhaps, too, a little of persecution, or of somewhat resembling persecution, may be providentially permitted, to train up men with an attachment to the Church as an hierarchy, as distinct from the State, and as dignified only by its intrinsic excellence, by its venerable antiquity, and by its apostolic institution.”³ Those, however, who were in the midst of the struggle could not contemplate the state of affairs, after the passing of the Reform Bill, with similar equanimity. “Deep was the consternation,” writes an excellent divine, “and almost despair of the friends of order and religion at this time, when we beheld our rulers sacrifice (avowedly under the influence of intimidation) a constitution, which in the very moment of its ruin they admitted to be essential to the security of the Church. Deep was our alarm and indignation at being thus delivered over bound hand and foot into the power of a hostile ascendancy ; into the hands of a Parliament, reckless of the high and sacred interests of religion, and now for the first time numbering by law amongst its members Romanists and Dissenters.”⁴

12. The new political condition of things brought upon the Church doubtless a great increase in the attacks from without, but if these acted in stimulating its internal activity, there was no real cause for the despair into which some good men seem to have been plunged at this period. There were many hopeful signs of life in the Church, together with some causes for discouragement. The year 1832 witnessed the foundation of the University of Durham through the wise munificence of the dean and chapter. The university was to be in connection with the

¹ Rev. W. Palmer, *Narrative of Events*, etc., p. 5.

² In 1814.

³ *Correspondence with A. Knox*, ii. 202.

⁴ Rev. W. Palmer, *Narrative of Events*, etc., p. 2.

cathedral church, the government of it to be in the dean and chapter, subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durham as visitor. In no part of the Church had the clergy been more violently assailed than in Durham, so that the foundation of the university, by the free act of the chapter, was a welcome proof that they were not unmindful of their responsibilities; neither are the statistics furnished in the last charge of Bishop Van Mildert (1831) at all discreditable to the diocese. "Of schools," he writes, "since my accession to this See twenty-seven new ones have been built and eighty-five united to the National Society. Of glebe houses four new ones have been added, four rebuilt or considerably enlarged, and three more are proposed to be built. Of churches or chapels fourteen have been built or are building, thirteen rebuilt or greatly altered and enlarged, eight are now in progress or proposed, nine have been newly endowed, and twelve or more have been augmented. Of parishes seven have been divided or are to be so, and districts are allotted to three others." The charge of Bishop Davys of Peterborough gives a satisfactory account of his diocese as to pluralities and non-residence. "Of the thirty-two clergymen who have more than one living in this diocese there is not an individual who does not strictly and literally belong to the class of the working clergy. Seven of these pluralists perform the whole duty of two churches every Sunday. The twenty-three who reside on one living, while they have a curate on the other, work as hard on the former as their curates on the latter; and the two who have now ceased to work, had previously worked more than half a century." An equally good account could not, however, be given of all the English dioceses at this period. Dr. Monk wrote a few years before this time—"When the See of Norwich shall be really vacant it will be an awful charge for any man to undertake. I have been staying a fortnight at Bury, where I have heard enough of the state of ecclesiastical matters in that diocese to convince me that a strong pair of shoulders and a vigorous arm to wield the besom of purification will be required in the new bishop."¹ As the

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 91.

new bishop did not come for fourteen years after this time the state of disorder was probably greatly increased. When Bishop Blomfield attacked the diocese of Chester he writes—"There are many sad evils in this diocese, which I have set myself in good earnest to redress, and in time I hope much may be effected."¹ The energy of this excellent prelate made a good beginning, but he was translated to London before he could see much fruit of his labours.

13. The revival of energy in the Church brought the scandals into more prominent view, and stimulated the rancorous attacks to which it was at this time subjected by those who in their hearts feared its growing power. Among the most bitter and persistent of its assailants was the famous Scotch Quarterly—the *Edinburgh Review*. The memorable passage of arms between Mr. Jeffrey, the editor of this periodical, and Dr. Philpotts, then rector of Stanhope, in which the future bishop displayed a power of invective equal to if not exceeding that of Dean Swift,² did not serve to mollify the tone of this pungent critic. Bishop Blomfield was violently attacked, and the clergy had to suffer every conceivable opprobrium for their alleged bigotry, narrow-mindedness, and intolerance. The democratic spirit was fairly roused against all privileges enjoyed by the Church, and the assaults were in some cases terribly malicious and wickedly untrue. Religious societies (so called) were established apparently for the main purpose of disseminating slanders about the Church. "Besides the open warfare," says a writer of that day, "there is a more quiet and secret, but a more persevering and bitter warfare carried on against the clergy through the agency of the press, in the shape of what are called 'Religious Tracts' and 'Reports of Religious Societies,' etc. These are passed through the country and forced into circulation by an agency which we need not describe, but which can be easily understood. During the last summer this went to a greater height than usual, as might naturally be expected from the increased hopes of the assailing party. We do not hesitate to describe this

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 101.

² See *Life of the Bishop of Exeter* by Mr. Shutte, chap. vii.

warfare as the most unprincipled which was perhaps ever carried on against any order of men, because it is based not on doubtful facts but on known falsehoods, because the writers who put forth these tracts are well aware when they write them that they are uttering falsehoods, and because they are doing this with the deliberate intention of awakening men's passions against the parties who are the objects of these slanders."¹

14. The point at which the most furious attacks of the assailants of the Church were directed, and where indeed the Church was most vulnerable, was the distribution of ecclesiastical property. The large aggregations of this in some cases, and the pitiful stipends belonging to other benefices, seemed to be a manifest abuse. It was in vain to plead that this arose not from any grasping arrangements made by ecclesiastical authorities, but from the donations of pious founders who had favoured some places more than others, or from the unjust spoliation to which the Church had been subjected at the Reformation period. Neither did it avail to declare that the Church was not absolutely wealthy; that if all the Church property were massed together it would not produce an income of £200 a year for each clergyman. The inequalities were too glaring and too scandalous to be really defensible.² The best friends of the Church saw that an effort must be made to remedy them. Thus, Mr. Hume having given notice (January 1831) for a commission to inquire into Church property, Joshua Watson drew up a scheme for a commission, which was much approved by the friends of the Church,³ but for that very reason was not likely to recommend itself to the Government. A royal com-

¹ *British Magazine* for April 1832.

² Of the bishoprics, while Canterbury was worth £27,000 annually, and Durham £17,000, there were twelve or thirteen Sees, the incomes of which scarcely covered the expenses attendant upon their occupation. Hence the holding of deaneries or rich livings in commendam became a necessity. In England and Wales there were 4361 livings under £150 per annum; 2626 were without houses; 2183 with houses unfit for residence. Hence the unavoidable prevalence of pluralities and non-residence.—*British Magazine* (1832).

³ See Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 4.

mission "to inquire into the revenues and patronage of the Established Church" was actually appointed, June 23, 1831, and this being renewed from time to time, made four reports, which were the foundation of the important measure passed in 1836. Of this commission Bishop Blomfield was the most influential member. He writes to the archbishop (December 11, 1832) that he had been "long convinced of the necessity of a mixed commission of clergymen and laymen to consider what measures should be adopted in the way of Church reform, whether as to the establishment of a consistent scheme of discipline, or the arrangement of ecclesiastical property. Whether this commission should be permanent and be invested with the power of *initiating all legislative measures affecting the Church in its spiritual character, or in its secular provisions, or in both*, I am not quite prepared to say. . . . I do not see how the final determination of the questions concerning pluralities and cathedral establishments, involving as they do so many complicated interests, can be made with any prospect of a wise and equitable decision except through the medium of a commission. We have a right to demand either a Convocation (*which we do not wish for*) or something which shall possess all the advantages of a Convocation without the evils which were found to result from it under its old constitution."¹ That a commission of bishops would furnish a complete remedy, was not, however, the universal opinion.²

15. It can scarcely be wondered at that Churchmen were in some perplexity and anxiety when they saw these apparent preparations for drastic measures following as they did upon the reform of the House of Commons and

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 206.

² "The truth is," wrote Sydney Smith, "that there are very few men in either House of Parliament who ever think of the happiness and comfort of the working clergy, or bestow one thought upon guarding them from the increased and increasing power of their encroaching masters. What is called taking care of the Church is taking care of the bishops; and all Bills for the management of the clergy are left to the concoction of men, who very naturally believe that they are improving the Church when they are increasing their own power."—Sydney Smith's First Letter to Archdeacon Singleton.

the attack upon the Church in Ireland. "We felt ourselves," writes a leading Churchman of the day, "assailed by enemies from without and within. Our prelates insulted and threatened by ministers of State; continual motions made for their expulsion from the Legislature; demands for the suppression of Church rates on the avowed principle of opening the way for a total separation of Church and State; clamours loud and long for the overthrow of the Church; Dissenters and Romanists triumphing in the prospect of its subversion, and assailing it with every epithet calculated to stimulate popular hatred. In Ireland some of our clergy assassinated; the rest deprived of their incomes and reduced to the verge of starvation; while the Government looked calmly on and seemed to encourage this terrible persecution. In fine, an uninterrupted series of injuries, dangers, and desertions was closed by the sacrifice of ten bishoprics in Ireland; and we were advised to feel thankful that a more sweeping measure had not been adopted. What was next to come? Was this to lead to similar measures in England? Was the same principle of concession to popular clamour, which had led to the desolation of the Irish Church to gratify the Romish democracy there, next to be exemplified in the dismemberment of the English Church in the hope of conciliating its antagonists? Who could tell? We had seen even prelates of our own Church make concession after concession on this and on other points which should have been defended at all hazards."¹ That these fears should have possessed the minds of Churchmen is not strange. They had no means of knowing what was going on. The lower clergy were absolutely unable to make their voice heard. Everything seemed to be in the hands of a few of the more energetic bishops, and especially in those of one man, who, though a good man and an able man, was not infallible, and was somewhat inclined to be hasty and autocratic. The irony of Sydney Smith was scarcely exaggerated when he wrote—"The Bishop of London is passionately fond of labour, has certainly no aversion to power, is of quick temper, great ability, thoroughly versed

¹ Rev. W. Palmer, *Narrative of Events*, etc., p. 3.

in ecclesiastical law, and always in London. He will become the commission, and when the Church of England is mentioned it will only mean *Charles James of London*, who will enjoy greater power than has ever been possessed by any Churchman since the days of Laud, and will become *The Church of England here upon earth.*"¹

16. The dangers which apparently threatened the Church brought together at Oxford a knot of able men, not all much previously acquainted, but now drawn together by the consciousness of a common peril. These were Mr. Newman, Mr. Keble, Mr. Froude, Mr. Percival, and Mr. William Palmer of Worcester College. A conference was held at the house of Mr. Rose at Hadleigh, and at Oxford in the summer of 1833, and it was determined to form an "Association of Friends of the Church." The great danger feared was an attempt to alter the Liturgy, of which there were many threatenings, and it was determined that the objects of the Association should be (1.) "To maintain inviolate the doctrines, the services and the discipline of the Church; that is, to withstand all change which involves the denial and suppression of doctrine, a departure from primitive practice in religious offices, or innovation upon the apostolical prerogatives, order and commission of bishops, priests, and deacons. (2.) To afford Churchmen an opportunity of exchanging their sentiments, and co-operating together on a large scale."² The principles of this Association met with very general favour from the clergy and leading laity, but it was soon seen that it had not a sufficiently practical basis, and the energy of its authors was then directed towards obtaining signatures to an address to the Metropolitan.³ There was considerable opposition to this address, especially among the dignitaries, who were "extremely timid and apprehensive—in a few

¹ First Letter to Archdeacon Singleton.

² Rev. W. Palmer, *Narrative of Events*, etc., p. 9.

³ This was Mr. Watson's advice, "Something," he says, "was to be done, and so done as to unite as much as may be those whom an association would be sure to disjoin. And for this nothing seemed to me so promising as an address to the Primate."—Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 31.

cases strongly opposed to us.”¹ The bishops kept aloof, but the clergy, in great numbers, sent in their signatures, and finally no less than 7000 names were appended to the following address to the Primate:—

“To the most Reverend Father in God, William, by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England.

“WE, the undersigned clergy of England and Wales, are desirous of approaching your Grace with the expression of our veneration for the sacred office to which, by Divine Providence, you have been called; of our respect and affection for your personal character and virtues, and of our gratitude for the firmness and discretion which you have evinced in a season of peculiar difficulty and danger. At a time when events are daily passing before us, which mark the growth of latitudinarian sentiments, and the ignorance which prevails concerning the spiritual claims of the Church, we are especially anxious to lay before your Grace the assurance of our devoted adherence to the apostolical doctrine and polity of the Church over which you preside, and of which we are ministers; and our deep-rooted attachment to that venerable Liturgy, in which she has embodied in the language of ancient piety the orthodox and primitive faith. And while we most earnestly deprecate that restless desire of change which would rashly innovate in spiritual matters, we are not less solicitous to declare our firm conviction, that should anything from the lapse of years or altered circumstances require renewal or correction, your Grace and our other spiritual rulers may rely upon the cheerful co-operation and dutiful support of the clergy, in carrying into effect any measures that may tend to revive the discipline of ancient times, to strengthen the connection between the bishops, clergy, and people, and to promote the purity, the efficiency and unity of the Church.”²

17. The vagueness of this address no doubt contributed to the procuring signatures to it. Neither anti-reformers nor reformers need have been offended at it. Indeed its

¹ *Narrative of Events, etc.*, p. 12.

² *Ib.* p. 11.

terms do not exclude those very alterations in the Liturgy which its promoters had so much in fear. But it was generally looked upon as a Church demonstration, and as such its wide acceptance was regarded with much satisfaction by its originators. The colourless character of the address was greatly due to the prudent suggestions of Joshua Watson, who, with Dr. Wordsworth, Archdeacon Bayley, Mr. Norris, Mr. Rose, and Mr. Lyall, carefully revised it. Mr. Watson says, "My great object was to prevent the reproach of unqualified opposition to all reform, without admitting the necessity of any; and in effecting this, to make as much use as possible of what had been got up at Oxford."¹ The address was formally presented to the archbishop in the Library of Lambeth on February 5, 1834, by a deputation chosen from the more prominent dignitaries. His Grace received it with much courtesy, saying that he "anticipated good effects from this public declaration of the sentiments of the clergy." He "regarded it as a direct contradiction of misrepresentation and falsehood of different kinds which have been widely circulated, as an avowal of your unshaken adherence to our National Church, its faith and its formularies, and as a testimony of your veneration for the episcopal office, and of your cordial respect for your bishops."²

18. The success which had attended the address of the clergy encouraged the laity to make themselves heard, and an address to the Primate was drawn up for signature by the laity, which contrasts favourably with the clerical address in the matter of distinctness of utterance. The prudent men were, however, afraid to launch it, and it was determined that instead of an address a declaration should be prepared. The drawing up of this appears to have been almost exclusively the work of Joshua Watson.³ It ran as

¹ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 30.

² *Narrative of Events*, etc., note B.

³ Mr. Palmer says it was prepared by a "layman whose virtues, abilities, and munificence had for many years procured for him the veneration of all true Churchmen." "The fact appears to be," says Mr. Churton, "that it was drawn up by Joshua Watson."—*Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 34.

follows:—"At a time when the clergy of England and Wales have felt it a duty to address their Primate with an expression of their unshaken adherence to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of which they are ministers, we, the undersigned, as lay members of the same, are not less anxious to record our firm attachment to her pure faith and worship, and her apostolic form of government. We further find ourselves called upon by the events which are daily passing around us to declare our firm conviction that the consecration of the State by the public maintenance of the Christian religion is the first and paramount duty of a Christian people, and that the Church established in these realms, by carrying its sacred and beneficial influences through all orders and degrees, and into every corner of the land, has for many ages been the great and distinguishing blessing of this country, and not less the means, under Divine Providence, of national prosperity than of individual piety. In the preservation, therefore, of this, our National Church, in the integrity of her rights and privileges, and in her alliance with the State, we feel that we have an interest no less real, and no less direct, than her immediate ministers; and we accordingly avow our firm determination to do all that in us lies, in our several stations, to uphold unimpaired in its security and efficiency that establishment which we have received as the richest legacy of our forefathers, and desire to hand down as the best inheritance of our posterity."¹ Mr. Watson declares that he had "sad misgivings as to the success" of this declaration, and Mr. Palmer is of opinion that its success was not what it ought to have been. But inasmuch as 230,000 heads of families affixed their signatures to it, the success cannot be considered trifling.

19. The effects which followed the signing of the declaration were still more satisfactory. Meetings were held everywhere to express devotion to the Church of England, and petitions poured into the House of Commons against any interference with it. On May 27 the committee who had been employed in obtaining signatures presented an address to the King, in which they state their

¹ *Narrative of Events*, etc., p. 14.

conviction that the public maintenance of the Christian religion is the first and paramount duty of a Christian *king* and people. They then recapitulate the sentiments of the declaration, and inform his Majesty that they have received the actual signatures of upwards of 230,000 of his Majesty's lay subjects, "for the most part substantial householders and heads of families, and all of them persons of mature age." That the King was greatly impressed by this address cannot be doubted. On the occasion of his birthday he spoke very strongly and feelingly to the bishops of his determination to maintain and uphold the Church of England, and of his deep attachment to it. Addresses of gratitude to the King for this public utterance poured in from all parts, and a decided reaction in favour of the Church of England was established. The declaration with the original signatures was deposited in the archives of Lambeth. The archbishop, in reply to the address of the committee who presented it, says that he receives it with "more than ordinary satisfaction. Amidst the perils which are multiplying around us, the clergy will derive the greatest encouragement to persevering exertion from these public professions of your devoted adherence to the Church, and your implied approbation of the character and conduct of its ministers."¹ Whether the fears for the Church, which all seem to have entertained at that period, were well grounded or not, at any rate the movement caused by them was salutary and valuable. In the next chapter will be given the relation of the proceedings in Parliament, some of which caused such great apprehensions among Churchmen, and in a following chapter that internal movement in the Church will be traced which, commencing about the time of the more public demonstrations last mentioned, has had far more important and abiding effects than the other.

¹ *Narrative of Events*, etc. Additional note to p. 15.

CHAPTER XI.

CHURCH LEGISLATION

1828-1840

1. Bishops support repeal of Corporation and Test Acts. 2. Roman Catholic Emancipation—Bishop Philpotts. 3. Clerical advocates for the concession. 4. Mr. Simeon's predictions. 5. Report of commissioners on ecclesiastical courts. 6. The Reform Bill in the House of Lords. 7. The suppression of Irish bishoprics. 8. Movement against Church rates. 9. Establishment of the permanent Ecclesiastical Commission. 10. The scheme of 1836. 11. Danger of the principle involved. 12. The Tithe Commutation Act. 13. The Government proposal to deal with Church property. 14. The proposal to reorganise cathedrals. 15. Sydney Smith's Letters to Archdeacon Singleton. 16. Mr. Pusey's pamphlet. 17. Other writers against the scheme. 18. The Act against pluralities and non-residence. 19. The diocese of London. 20. Provisions of the Act of 1840. 21. The Clergy Discipline Act. 22. Review of the changes introduced.

1. THE vigorous attacks made on the Corporation and Test Acts in the last century have been detailed in a previous chapter.¹ It is not to be supposed that these obnoxious laws could have survived to so late a period in our history had they not been practically in abeyance, the breach of them being covered by an annual Bill of Indemnity. But the laws themselves were felt by many to be a disgrace to the Statute Book, and a dishonour to the Church of England. It is pleasant to have to record that when at last in the spring of 1828 they were repealed, the repeal was supported by the whole body of the bishops.² It was still thought necessary to try to guard the Church

¹ See Chap. I.

² *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 137. The negotiations by which the bishops were brought to support the measure will be found fully detailed in the *Memoirs of Sir R. Peel*.

by a declaration to be taken by the dissenting ministers ; but as to the Acts, and the profanation of the Lord's Supper involved in them, they were well described as "bulwarks which it has been necessary to prop up year after year with the shoring of an Indemnity Act, lest they should fall on the heads of those which they were intended to protect."¹

2. The ground was easy for the Church in this matter, but a question had now to be brought to a final settlement which was of a very different character, and excited much stronger feelings. The Roman Catholics had before the end of the eighteenth century been practically relieved of persecuting laws in the matter of their religious belief. Naturally they were not contented with this, but sought in addition relief from the civil disabilities which still pressed heavily upon them. It was thought by most English Churchmen that there was great danger in such a concession to them. Their obligations to the Pope, it was supposed, were inconsistent with their loyalty to the crown. Their religion allowed them to hold that princes might be excommunicated, deposed, and murdered, for the advancement of the faith. It was said that they could be dispensed from oaths ; that they were bred up in Jesuitical casuistry which allowed them to use falsehood when it was thought to be expedient. These dangers were supposed to incapacitate them from civil and military service, and to condemn them to proscription, in a Protestant kingdom. It was in vain that many of their leading men abjured and rejected these principles. They were not believed. The old theological controversy between the churches embittered the whole question. Men who held such objectionable doctrines, it was thought, must needs be rebels. It could not be allowed to them to drop the antiquated notions of the power of popes over kings, as the Protestants had dropped the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience. Thus the Romanists were to continue to be punished beforehand for what it was said they would certainly do, and their promises of good behaviour went for little. The most vigorous and

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 137.

most talented of the Churchmen who appeared against them was Dr. Philpotts, rector of Stanhope, who had gained a high reputation as a disputant by his passage-of-arms with the Edinburgh reviewers. He had also distinguished himself as a Romish controversialist by answering Mr. C. Butler's somewhat absurd *Book of the Romish Church*.¹ In his letters to Mr. Canning, who had espoused the Romish side, Dr. Philpotts was thought to have displayed great power, and to have crushed his talented antagonist. The letters, however, are somewhat verbose and stilted compositions, and many were puzzled as to their definite meaning when Dr. Philpotts supported the candidature of Sir Robert Peel at Oxford,² and soon after (1830) was promoted to the Episcopate³ by the Ministry who had carried Emancipation.

3. Another clerical champion whose consistency was attacked in this matter was Bishop Blomfield. In earlier days he had been favourable to the Roman Catholic claims, but after his elevation to the bench he had seen reason to change his views. Indeed the clergy of all grades, with but few exceptions, were hostile to this measure of relief. A prominent exception was Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who published a pamphlet on "The Christian duty of conceding the Roman Catholic claims." This, says his biographer, "brought him into direct collision both with the tone of the Liberal party, who assumed that, being a political measure, it could not be argued on religious grounds; and

¹ This book was suggested by Mr. Southey's *Book of the Church*, and contained an attack upon Mr. Southey's accuracy, which the poet-laureate defended in some letters styled *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

² Sir Robert Peel, the minister who was principally responsible for carrying the measure of Emancipation, having, out of a high sense of honour, resigned his seat for Oxford, the clergy took revenge upon him by refusing to re-elect him, and returned the Protestant champion, Sir R. H. Inglis, by a majority of 146.

³ A strong opposition having been made to the living of Stanhope being held in commendam with the bishopric of Exeter, Dr. Philpotts resigned that rich benefice, and Mr. Darnell, one of the canons of Durham, having been appointed, the stall vacated by him was given to the bishop.

of the Tory party, who assumed that, as being a religious question, it was one on which the almost united authority of the English clergy ought to have decisive weight."¹ But the most popular clerical advocate for the concession was Sydney Smith, canon of St. Paul's, who, in the *Edinburgh Review*, and especially in the famous *Peter Plymley Letters*, had used his inimitable powers of wit and irony to advocate it. The witty canon disliked the Evangelicals in religion as much as he did the Tories in politics, and was not disposed to spare either. "As for the dangers of the Church," he writes, "I have not entirely lost my confidence in the power of common sense, and I believe the Church to be in no danger at all; but, if it is, that danger is not from the Catholics but from the Methodists, and from that patent Christianity which has been for some time manufacturing at Clapham, to the prejudice of the old and admirable article prepared by the Church. I would counsel my lords the bishops to keep their eyes upon that holy village and its hallowed vicinity. They will find there a zeal for making converts far superior to anything which exists among the Catholics; a contempt for the great mass of English clergy much more rooted and profound; and a regular fund to purchase livings for those groaning and garrulous gentlemen, whom they denominate (by a standing sarcasm against the regular Church) gospel preachers and vital clergymen. I am too firm a believer in the general propriety and respectability of the English clergy to believe they have much to fear either from old nonsense or from new; but if the Church must be supposed to be in danger I prefer that nonsense which is grown half-venerable from time, the force of which I have already tried and baffled, which at least has some excuse in the dark and ignorant ages in which it originated. The religious enthusiasm manufactured by living men before my own eyes disgusts my understanding as much, influences my imagination not at all, and excites my apprehensions much more."²

4. How some of the party so stigmatised could regard

¹ Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, i. 242.

² *Peter Plymley's Letters*—Letter V.

this question may be illustrated from a sermon of Mr. Simeon's preached at this time (1829). "As to the measures which our Government is now passing, I condemn them not. I believe from my heart they are necessary not only for the averting of the impending evils of civil war, but for the forming of a permanent bond of union amongst the widely differing subjects of our distracted empire. But I cannot hide from myself the dangers to which even by this very remedy the whole nation will be speedily exposed. That a more familiar intercourse between Catholics and ourselves will be the immediate and necessary result of their introduction to all places of profit and honour in our land is certain: and we may well expect in a very short time to see almost the whole of Britain inundated with papists. Their priests, of course, will labour by all possible means to diffuse their tenets and to proselytise our people to their Church. And I think it highly probable that their success for a time will be both wide and rapid, not because of the real force of their arguments, but because of the unprepared state both of the clergy and laity to withstand them. Nor do I think that their success will be confined to the lower ranks. I shall not wonder if many who are well instructed in other things should fall into the snare, and be drawn away by their specious arguments. . . . But let a person once attain the knowledge of Christ crucified, and come habitually to God through Him, and he will be in no danger of being drawn away by all their subtleties. A Mussulman or a Hindoo may as well hope to draw *him* over to their Creed as a papist."¹ After-events furnish a curious comment on these latter words, almost all the first important converts to Rome having been of Mr. Simeon's school of thought.

5. The administration of the ecclesiastical courts had been a grievance from time immemorial, and nothing had more conduced to bring about the bad feeling between clergy and laity at the time of the Reformation than the abuses connected with these courts. Various archbishops, notably Warham and Whitgift, had tried their hands at

¹ *Memoir of Simeon*, by Carus, p. 630.

reforming them, but without success. It was therefore a judicious step which was taken by the Government in 1830, when two commissions were issued "to inquire into the course of proceeding in suits or other matters instituted or carried on in the ecclesiastical courts of England and Wales." The principal matter thought to require remodelling was the Court of Final Appeal. This, as it had been left by the laws of Henry VIII.,¹ in practice was found to work very badly. Upon this the commissioners were requested to give a special report with as little delay as possible, leaving the whole subject of ecclesiastical courts for another report. They reported that it was expedient to abolish the jurisdiction hitherto exercised by judges delegate, and to transfer the right of hearing appeals to the Privy Council, whose recommendations should be final—the old plan of a "Commission of Review" being abolished. It was thought that as the Privy Council was composed of lords spiritual and temporal, judges in equity and common law, and civil law judges, it would be a completely satisfactory tribunal to hear all causes. The general report of the commissioners made a large number of recommendations as to the ecclesiastical courts, the chief of which are summed up by them as "The transfer of the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the two provincial courts; important alterations in the mode of trying some of the questions in those courts; the transfer of other matters to other tribunals."² Upon this report the Act of Parliament of August 7, 1832 (2 and 3 Will. IV. c. 92), for "transferring the powers of the High Court of Delegates both in ecclesiastical and maritime causes to his Majesty in council," was passed. Other recommendations of the commission were afterwards embodied in the Church Discipline Act of 1840. It is to be observed that no special provision for hearing ecclesiastical appeals was made in the Act of 1832. It was assumed probably that some of the ecclesiastical members of the Privy Council would be present at the hearing,

¹ 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, which appointed the Court of Delegates.

² "Report of Commissioners"—*Blue Book of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission*, 1882, p. 205.

but by a strange piece of carelessness this was not provided for.

6. The Church had not recovered from the shock of Catholic emancipation when another great attack upon the old order of things succeeded. Dr. Philpotts had now entered the House of Lords as Bishop of Exeter, and soon took the lead among the episcopal orators with a biting power of sarcasm and force of withering denunciation which have been rarely exceeded. He came into Parliament at a time when men's passions were excited to the utmost pitch. In the autumn of 1831 the Reform Bill was defeated in the House of Lords by a majority of forty-one, of whom twenty-one were bishops. The public fury immediately broke out against the bishops. They were mobbed, insulted and threatened. Almost the whole press attacked them with excessive violence. The *Times* represented an "exasperated nation," crying out, "It is the bishops who have crushed our liberties and destroyed us. But for them we should have had a free Parliament, a responsible Government, and the downfall of an oppressive oligarchy. Our character is lost, and it is to the anti-national spirit of the Church we owe this grievous disappointment. How shall we forgive the clergy!" The Whig lords joined in the outcry, but the Church was not without a vigorous champion. "Noble lords," said the Bishop of Exeter, "assumed the right to censure the body of bishops for the vote they had recently given. He defied any noble lord to state a single instance in the history of the country when any members of the House had been so vilified and insulted as the bishops had been within the last week by a person of the highest station in the realm. Did the members of his Majesty's Government by these remarks intend to incite and encourage violence?" Upon this Earl Grey rose and angrily charged the bishop with uttering an "intemperate and unfounded assertion," and called on him to justify or withdraw it. Then the bishop responded that in the speech of the Prime Minister the bishops had been openly menaced with incurring odium if they should vote against the Bill. "To call upon any one set of men, to call upon one of the great estates of the realm, as they

were termed by the sages of the law, and by the law itself, to call upon them by way of a menace of popular indignation, had the tendency of exciting the odium of the people. Had not that odium been excited, and was not the bench of bishops exposed to its effects? The noble earl had assumed the character of a prophet, and had told the bishops to 'set their houses in order.' It was true the noble earl did not finish the sentence. He left that for themselves to do, but it was impossible not to know that he referred to where the prophet had threatened destruction. . . . The bishops were threatened to be driven from their stations because they did not vote for ministers; because for once they had thus voted upon the greatest question agitated since the Revolution, when the bishops had acted in defiance of the Crown. Where would their lordships have been but for the bishops at the Revolution?"¹ When the Reform Bill came on again in the House of Lords, the Bishop of Exeter was not deterred by the violent feelings which had been excited against him from again opposing it. Some of his right reverend brethren had changed their minds. The bishops of Bath and Wells, Lichfield, Lincoln, and Llandaff now retired from the strife. But the Bishop of Exeter took a different view of the situation. With great courage and wonderful eloquence he strove to hold a position which was already carried, and to defend abuses which, in all sincerity, he believed to be necessary for the safety of the State. One of the finest passages in his speech was that in which he denounced the throwing open the Irish boroughs on the ground of expediency. "Expediency! my lords, it is not expediency. The thing is as miserable in policy as it is indefensible in principle. It is a mere huckstering of pure religion for the brief, the hollow, the worthless support of men whom no concessions can win; who laugh at your bribes and jeer at your elaborate and unwearied efforts to cocker, and soothe and pamper them; of men who no longer deign to wear the mask even of a decent hypocrisy; who proclaim their hopes, rather, I should say, their triumphs; of men who even now boast, and chuckle while they boast,

¹ *Memoir of the Bishop of Exeter*, i. 317.

that the oath which they have taken admits of an explanation which makes it a key, a picklock, with which they may open to themselves at once both the citadel and the temple of our Zion.”¹ When the Bill had passed the bishop no doubt found himself in the position of the most unpopular Churchman in the country.

7. In 1833 some legislation on behalf of the Irish Church was, probably, absolutely necessary. The opposition to tithes had become so violent that more money was spent in collecting them than the collected tithes would defray. Subscriptions had to be made in England for the starving clergy, and Parliament voted £1,000,000 for their relief. Under these circumstances a measure was brought into Parliament for abolishing Church cess, which was a specially obnoxious payment, and for suppressing ten bishoprics, the revenues of which were to be applied to the purposes for which Church cess had been collected. This measure was supported by Bishop Blomfield on the avowed ground of sacrificing a part to save the whole.² It was on the contrary reprobated by many English Churchmen as spoliation and robbery. To others, however, not less anxious for the good of the Church, almost anything was welcome which might seem likely to remove some of the terrible anomalies which existed in Ireland. It seemed to them impossible to defend such a state of things as had been exposed in caustic language by the clever pen of Sydney Smith. “These eight Catholics not only hate the ninth man, the Protestant of the Establishment, for the unjust privileges he enjoys—not only remember that the lands of their father were given to his father—but they find themselves forced to pay for the support of his religion. In the wretched state of poverty in which the lower orders of the Irish are plunged, it is not without considerable effort that they can pay the few shillings necessary for the support of their Catholic priest; and when this is effected, a tenth of the potatoes in the garden are to be set out for the support of

¹ *Memoir of the Bishop of Exeter*, i. 382.

² See *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 182. Dr. Ball, *Reformed Church of Ireland*, p. 229.

a persuasion, the introduction of which into Ireland they consider as the great cause of their political inferiority, and all their manifold wretchedness.”¹ Bishop Blomfield supported the Bill for the suppression of the Irish bishoprics on the full understanding that it was to be final. Other proposed measures, which soon followed and which he conceived to be unjust to the Irish Church, he strenuously opposed, and was in great degree the cause of their defeat.² On the question of the suppression of the Irish bishoprics, Bishop Blomfield was opposed to the Primate, Archbishop Howley, a prelate who, without taking any very prominent part, was ever watchful for the interests of the Church. He was opposed also to the venerable Bishop of Durham, who calls the Bill a “detestable Bill,” and regards it as rank spoliation. “Again and again I have considered the matter,” he writes, “and can only see one course open to me consistently with integrity or a safe conscience, or with my notions of sound policy and discretion.”³

8. The year 1833 witnessed the first attack upon Church rates in Parliament, and in 1834 an attempt was made by the Government of Lord Grey to remedy what was held by the Dissenters to be a great and crying grievance. It was no doubt an anomaly *prima facie* that a nonconformist should be compelled by law to pay for the repairs and support of a church which he did not use, and did not wish to uphold. But the defenders of Church rate had much to allege in their favour. From the remotest times the land had been burdened with this special obligation, and all purchases of property had been made with the full knowledge of its existence, and with allowance made for it.⁴ The mere dislike of the application of a rate could hardly justify its refusal. Many might dislike the way in which relief under the Poor Law was administered, or the highways managed, but they were

¹ Sydney Smith's *Works*, p. 298.

² *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 187.

³ Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 25.

⁴ “All ratable property had been subject, long before existing titles to it were acquired, to this burden.”—Lord Selborne, *Defence of Church of England*, p. 171.

nevertheless compelled to contribute towards the funds thus applied. In the expenditure of the Imperial taxes there might be many abuses, but still the taxes must be paid. In fact, the principle of selection had no legitimate place in the matter. Yet, as in matters of payment men are not easily convinced by argument, Lord Althorp brought a Bill into the House of Commons (1834), by which he proposed to do away with the levying of Church rates, and to make a grant of £250,000 from the land tax for the repair of churches. This plan, which would probably have been extremely difficult to work, was, however, abandoned. The death of the mover and the change of Ministry which followed caused it to be put aside.

9. When in 1834 Sir Robert Peel assumed office he professed himself earnestly desirous to be the helper and improver of the Church in her temporalities. "I cannot give," he said, "my consent to the alienating of Church property in any part of the united kingdom from strictly ecclesiastical purposes. But if, by an improved distribution of the revenues of the Church, its just influence can be extended, and the true interests of the established religion promoted, all other considerations should be made subordinate to the advancement of objects of such paramount importance. As to Church property in this country, no person has expressed a more earnest wish than I have done, that the question of tithe, complicated and difficult as I acknowledge it to be, should, if possible, be satisfactorily settled by means of a commutation, founded upon just principles, and proposed after mature consideration. With regard to alteration in the laws which govern our ecclesiastical Establishment, I have had no recent opportunity of giving that grave consideration to a subject of the deepest interest which could alone justify me in making any public declaration of opinion."¹ These last words probably relate to the Church rate question, but in those which precede the new minister evidently accepts the policy of the last administration as to the commission of inquiry into the ecclesiastical revenues. The commission,²

¹ Sir Robert Peel to electors of Tamworth.—*Memoir*, ii. 65.

² See Chap. X. § 14.

in fact, which had been renewed in 1833, was renewed again by Sir Robert Peel in 1834.¹ The commissioners were empowered to extend the inquiries previously made, and to found upon them proposals for promoting the efficiency of the Church—partly by a rearrangement of dioceses and equalisation of episcopal incomes, but principally by the augmentation of poor benefices and by adding to the number of the parochial clergy. This body contained, besides the two archbishops, the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester.² The commissioners made four reports to the Crown (March 17, 1835; March 4, May 20, June 24, 1836), and recommended the establishment of a permanent body of commissioners to “prepare and lay before his Majesty in Council such schemes as shall appear to them to be best adapted for carrying into effect the following recommendations, and that his Majesty in Council be empowered to make orders ratifying such schemes, and having the full force of law.”³ The Act to carry out the recommendations of the Commission and to establish this permanent body, was passed not without considerable opposition. It was assailed by Churchmen on one side, and by Radicals, fearing the increased efficiency of the Church, on the other. Both of these sets of objections from different points of view had a real ground. Unquestionably the Commission made the Church more efficient, and, equally without question, it ran counter to the Church principles of many of the best of the Churchmen of the day.

10. The first set of proposals sanctioned by the Act of 1836 related to the readjustment of the areas and the income of the dioceses. The old dioceses were cut and carved in every possible way. Bristol was so cut up as no longer to exist. Part of it was given to Bath and Wells, part to Salisbury, and the remainder annexed to Gloucester; so that Henry VIII.’s foundation was absolutely

¹ When Sir Robert Peel quitted office in April 1835 the commission ceased to act for a time, but it was renewed by Lord Melbourne on the understanding that no Church reforms should be proposed to Parliament but those recommended by the commission.

² *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 209.

³ Preamble to 6 and 7 Will. IV., c. 77.

wiped out.¹ The huge diocese of Lincoln could better suffer depletion, and from this the county of Buckingham was given to Oxford, Leicester to Peterborough, Huntingdon and Bedford to Ely, and, in place of these, Nottingham, taken from the northern province, was added to Lincoln. Two other unions of Sees were projected by the reformers, which happily were never carried out. The ancient See of Man was to be joined to Carlisle,² and St. Asaph and Bangor were to be made into a single diocese. The revenues obtained from the Welsh union were to go towards the foundation of a new See at Manchester. Manchester and Ripon were to be created Sees, their collegiate churches becoming cathedral, but from the disappearance of Bristol and one of the Welsh Sees no additional number of bishops was provided. Happily the latter part of the scheme never took effect. Salutory provisions also enacted that all parishes locally situated in a diocese, but under the jurisdiction of the bishop of another diocese, should be made subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese within which they were locally situate; that bishops might exchange patronage, and that adequate provision should be made for giving patronage to the new Sees. A more revolutionary enactment regulated the revenues. Canterbury was to pay over to the commissioners all surplus revenue above £15,000 annually, York and London all exceeding £10,000, Durham all exceeding £8000, Winchester £7000, Ely £5500, St. Asaph and Bangor £5200, Worcester and Bath and Wells, £5000. From these receipts the commissioners were to pay to the other bishops incomes of not less than £4000 nor more than £5000. No ecclesiastical benefice was hereafter to

¹ The dealings with Bristol were curious. "In the first report Llandaff was given to it across the Channel, 'lest the great and populous city of Bristol should be no longer the residence of a bishop.' In the second report this important reason is forgotten, and Bristol is merged, with its cathedral, in the already double diocese of Bath and Wells. In the third, again, it is altered, and, by a junction with Gloucester, is constituted, in an age especially opposed to pluralities, a first precedent for an episcopal plurality in residence and duty."—*Ecclesiastical Legislation*, by Clericus.

² Repealed by 1 and 2 Vict., c. 30.

be held in commendam. Suitable episcopal residences were to be provided for the bishops of Lincoln, Llandaff, Rochester, Manchester, and Ripon. New archdeaconries of Bristol, Maidstone, Monmouth, Westmoreland, Manchester, Lancaster, and Craven were to be created. It was also enacted that no clergyman should be preferred to a living in Wales who was not fully conversant in the Welsh language;¹ and that the details of these schemes having been laid before the King in council and gazetted, should become law.

11. Many of the provisions of this Act (6 and 7 Will. IV., c. 77), on which all the subsequent legislation and work of the ecclesiastical commissioners are founded, were manifest improvements. But in the hasty pursuit of expediency there was unfortunately a disregard of principles, the full effects of which have probably not yet been realised. It has been well remarked that "the important principle on which the inviolability of the Church Establishment depends, viz. that the Church generally possesses no property as a corporation, or which is applicable to general purposes; but that each particular ecclesiastical corporation, whether aggregate or sole, has its property separate, distinct, and inalienable, according to the intention of the original endowment, was given up without an effort to defend it."² The rearrangement of dioceses was probably the best part of the work of the commissioners, and excited but little opposition. A far greater excitement at their hasty proceedings arose when they came to apply the cutting and paring process to cathedral churches and chapters. There was no doubt much to excuse haste. Sir Robert Peel plainly saw that if the friends of the Church did not take the initiative her enemies would do so.³ The unfortunate thing was that the friends of the Church at that moment so little understood of what the Church was capable, and cut off parts considered useless which only needed revivifying to become useful.

¹ Altered by 1 and 2 Vict., c. 106, into a more general enactment.

² Cripps's *Laws of the Church and the Clergy* (5th ed.), p. 50.

³ See his letter to Bishop Van Mildert, *Memoirs*, vol. ii.

12. Sir Robert Peel had contemplated, when in office, some settlement of the difficult question of tithes, but he was soon driven from power, and had to leave the work to his successor, Lord John Russell. This statesman, soon after his entrance upon office, introduced a very important measure affecting this long-vexed and harassing matter, which passed this year (1836), to the solid advantage and improvement of the Church. The object of this Act was, in the first place, to encourage and give facilities for effecting voluntary commutations of tithes; and, in the next place, to effect commutations compulsorily, where the parties should be unwilling or unable to come to a voluntary agreement; and, in either case, to render commutations so made, in conformity with the provisions of the Act, permanent, so as to bind all subsequent incumbents. A rent-charge, therefore, on all lands which were subject to the payment of tithes at the time of the passing of the above Act, was substituted for the tithe of the produce of these lands. But this rent-charge was not to be a fixed and unvarying sum. It was to have a certain amount of flexibility and elasticity which was thus provided for. The amount of the annual value in money due from each property being ascertained, this was then commuted into a corn-rent; and for ascertaining the amount of the corn-rent a provision was made. In the month of January in each year the comptroller of corn returns was to insert in the *London Gazette* the average price of an imperial bushel of British wheat, barley and oats, for each of seven years next preceding, the year to terminate on the Thursday next before Christmas day. The average of the seven years was to determine the amount of money to be paid as corn-rent. Thus each party was placed in a position to be benefited by the fluctuation of prices, while a certain amount of fixed income was still secured. This disregarding exceptions and special provisions was the main principle of the arrangement of 6 and 7 Will. IV., c. 71.¹ Other Acts of Parliament have introduced some alterations, but not so as to affect the principle. By this useful measure an end was put to the perpetual disputes, heart-

¹ See Cripps's *Laws of the Church and the Clergy*, p. 354 sq.

burnings and troubles which arose out of the valuation of tithe, and the occasional attempt to take tithe in kind. When the money payment for which the tithe was commuted was converted into a corn-rent, corn was at a moderate price,¹ which was afterwards considerably exceeded. Consequently the incumbents of livings received for some years in excess of the money value at which their tithe had been estimated. As prices began to decline, the effect, of course, was the other way.

13. By the close of 1836 the Ecclesiastical Inquiry Commissioners were ready with their fifth report, recommending the depletion of the cathedrals. They had also agreed to the details of a Plurality and Non-residence Bill.² But a serious quarrel now arose between the commissioners and the Whig Government. It had been understood that no Church legislation which had not received the previous sanction of the commission was to be proposed in Parliament by the Government. This understanding was not, however, adhered to. On March 3, 1837, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that it was expedient to abolish Church rates, and to provide the necessary expenses for the Churches "by an increased value given to Church lands by the introduction of a new system of management, and by the application of the proceeds of pew-rents."³ This proposal was most ominous. Not only did it propose to do away with the ancient impost which connected the Church directly with the property of the country, but it seemed to be preliminary to taking the whole of the Church property into the hands of the Government. Lord John Russell, the leader of the Government in the House of Commons, was known to be of a very rash and hasty temperament, and the greatest consternation prevailed. The Archbishop of Canterbury, in presenting petitions, declared, on his part and that of the bishops generally, a strong objection to the scheme proposed by the Government.⁴ Sydney Smith describes, with his accustomed humour, the terror of the commissioners. "One fine day

¹ Wheat, 7s. 0½d. ; barley, 3s. 11½d. ; oats, 2s. 9d., per bushel.

² Bishop Blomfield to Bishop Monk.—Blomfield's *Memoirs*, i. 212.

³ Denison, *On Church Rates*, p. 127.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 128.

the Home Secretary, with a voice bland and a look ardently affectionate, informed them that the Government meant to take all the Church property into their own hands, to pay the rates out of it, and deliver the residue to the rightful possessors. Such an effect, they say, was never before produced by a *coup de théâtre*. The commission was separated in an instant. London clenched his fist. Canterbury was hurried out by his chaplains and put into a warm bed. A solemn vacancy spread itself over the face of Gloucester. Lincoln was taken out in strong hysterics."¹ It was soon found, however, that the Church rate measure did not progress in Parliament. The Government abandoned it; and relinquishing, for the present at least, the idea of changing the Church into a department of the State, they turned their attention to the commissioners' report on cathedrals,² which was indeed sufficiently drastic to satisfy even the keenest appetite for change.

14. It was proposed by the commissioners that in order to find funds for the augmentation of poor benefices, and the foundation of new ones where additional clergy were urgently needed, the whole of the emoluments attached to non-residentiary canonries should be taken, and that the residentiary canonries should be reduced in income and number, leaving at Canterbury, Durham, Ely and Westminster six canons, at Exeter five, and in all the other cathedrals four, except the Welsh dioceses, which were to be content with two. At St. Paul's, London, and at Lincoln, which only had three residentiary canons, a fourth canonry was to be founded, the commissioners evidently having the idea of symmetry in their minds. The emoluments of the non-residentiary canons were to be taken away, their patronage to be conferred on the bishops, and it was proposed that they should absolutely cease to exist, thus making the mutilation of the old foundations complete. No less than 360 prebends were thus to be extinguished. "This sweeping proposition,"

¹ Second Letter to Archdeacon Singleton, *Works*, p. 630.

² This report, though agreed upon, was never signed by the commissioners, the demise of the Crown bringing their work to an abrupt conclusion.

says the biographer of the most influential of the commissioners, "naturally met with very strong opposition, which eventually had the effect of considerably modifying it.¹ The capitular bodies saw themselves stripped of half their glory, and no small share of their patronage, and they lifted up their voices and cried aloud."² It was, however, a cry which was very little heeded. It appears that out of seven addresses of remonstrance addressed to the commissioners by seven different cathedrals only one was even acknowledged by the Secretary.³ The commissioners had little to fear in the way of opposition. Public opinion had in fact condemned the cathedrals, being influenced as usual by the abuses which appeared on the surface, without troubling itself to penetrate downwards to the real merit of these great institutions. They were regarded as being tainted with jobbing, nepotism, and scandalous neglect of duties, and they had to pay bitterly for the bad repute into which they had fallen. The great misfortune was that they came into the hands of men who had no feeling for the ecclesiastical system—utilitarians and expediency men, enamoured of hard-and-fast regulations, and fearful of leaving untouched anything on which the Radical grievance-monger might fasten. To cut away, abolish and destroy is always easy, but often productive of far greater evils than those which it affects to cure. It is the expedient of shallow and hasty minds which are swayed by panic, and do not act on carefully-thought-out principles. It has the appearance of zeal, self-abnegation and disinterestedness, but is often only a selfish plan to parry invective, and purchase popularity at the expense of that body which cannot defend itself—posterity.

¹ "Bishop Blomfield wanted, and the Bill proposed, not only to disendow but to destroy them. He could find no excuse for resisting that amendment which Canon Selwyn had the credit of devising, and which is called in the Act 'suspending' the canonries, which meant stopping their incomes; but he paid them off in that way by making them do their statutable duties for nothing."—*Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1886, p. 185.

² *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 217.

³ Sydney Smith's Third Letter to Archdeacon Singleton.

15. One advocate appeared for the cathedrals whose powerful and caustic pen perhaps did their cause as much harm as good. As long as English literature is read, and genuine wit and humour valued, Sydney Smith's three letters to Archdeacon Singleton will not be forgotten. In these the proposals of the commissioners, their characters, their proceedings, are sketched with an admirable facetiousness and epigrammatic point, intermixed with graver anticipations of the mischief likely to arise from their spoliations. Nothing can exceed the skill with which the witty canon satirises bishops, professedly eager to remedy spiritual destitution, and yet reserving to themselves incomes of £15,000 or £10,000 a year; and founding new canonries in some cathedrals while they destroy a vast mass in others. Nothing can be more true than the way in which he points out that the lower clergy have had no share in this matter; that it takes away from them vast advantages, in the way of possible promotion, and provides for the multiplication of a number of miserably paid posts, which will entail perpetual poverty on their holders. All this is very good, but when we come to the main grounds of the clever advocate's contention, we find in the first place that he, being a residentiary canon, has not a word to say for the non-residentiaries and their estates. These he is as willing to sacrifice as the bishops to take—and that the ground on which he defends the expediency of leaving the residentiary canons untouched, is that the taking away of these pleasant sinecures will be the taking away of so many inducements to men of family and fortune to "go into the Church." In fact the argument of these letters, though witty, is purely selfish, and put on miserably low ground. In some passages the canon is even vulgarly abusive, as in his attack upon Bishop Monk of Gloucester. But the inimitable raillery of the whole carries off these defects, and Sydney Smith's letters will be read and admired long after the charges of Bishops Blomfield, Kaye, and Monk, in which they defend the recommendations, have been forgotten.

16. The witty letters to Archdeacon Singleton, if the most popular of the defences of cathedrals, were by no

means the most weighty. Among the great crop of pamphlets which the proposals of the ecclesiastical commissioners called forth there were some very valuable and suggestive productions. Among these a foremost place must be assigned to a letter of Mr. E. B. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. This was published in 1833, when the assaults on cathedrals first began to be in agitation. It is an admirable argument for the necessity of encouraging learning in the Church, and points out with great clearness how intimately this is connected with the preservation of cathedrals. It shows how the cathedral can properly become a great theological school, such as some of them have since become. How scandalous it would be if the abuse of patronage by men in power should be made the pretext for doing away with institutions which they themselves had crippled.¹ "It is time," says the writer, "that we should retrace our steps. The time past has been long enough to degrade the service of God and make offices appointed for His honour subservient to the momentary and often selfish strife of worldly politics." How a better state of things may be reached is then ably pointed out. "The reform which is needed to restore these institutions according to the will of the donor is exactly the contrary to what is now on different sides proposed. The mere prebendary, or the sinecurist, such as he is held up by unprincipled journalists to delude or to incite the feelings of the laity, exists only in the imaginations of these persons." The question of the moral right to deal with foundations arising from private benevolence is ably dealt with, and a most important point, which the Church reformers of that day completely disregarded, is put forward, viz. the mischief of treating all cases and all dioceses alike—the hard-and-fast line which seems to have commended itself to Bishop Blomfield

¹ "No one would argue, in any other case, that the abuse of any institution or any gift of God was an argument against its use—how, then, when the Church has not wilfully been thus degraded; when, against its own protests, its offices have been thus profaned."—*Remarks on Prospective and Past Benefits of Cathedral Institutions*, by E. B. Pusey, B.D., Oxford (1833), p. 124.

and others. "Let each case be dealt with separately, and not according to any sweeping theory, which, as being conceived in general terms, would probably be inapplicable in particular cases. A measure which would at once confiscate these endowments into a general fund, thence to be dispersed as thought expedient to the several quarters of our land, would probably deprive those places for which the endowments were intended of their just and unquestionable rights."¹

17. Bishop Philpotts also, in his charge of 1836, comments strongly on this point. "It has from the first appeared to me to be a great and glaring mistake in the scheme recommended by the commissioners, that it deals with all cases as if they were alike, and makes no allowance whatever for the differences which different dioceses must necessarily present. Yet I remember well when Lord Grey's Government requested the bishops to deliberate on the wisest measures for making chapters available to the purposes of our Established Church it was unanimously agreed among us that no one plan ought to be applied to all."² Another writer points out that to destroy all the canonries of cathedrals except four, was to destroy what was intended to be the council of the bishop, and to reduce to absurd proportions that body which, according to ancient usage, is called upon to elect the bishop.³ "To annihilate," says another writer, "these purely honorary distinctions, this 'cheap defence' of the Established Church, is a scheme suggested either by the most rigid utilitarianism, or the most abject deference to popular clamour. It gives a show of consistency to the recommendation of the commissioners, while it is, in reality, a direct violation of the principle professed by them. It is mere change for change sake."⁴ A highly respected divine, Christopher Benson, master of the Temple, comments upon the recommendations of the commissioners,

¹ *Remarks, etc.*, pp. 124, 128, 144, 154.

² "Charge to Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter" (1836), p. 32.

³ *Ecclesiastical Legislation*, Three Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Clericus Anglicanus, 1836.

⁴ Letter to Sir R. H. Inglis (1837), p. 11.

in a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, in a tone of grave disapproval. He considers the "worst feature" of the reports to be "the proposition to transfer to the bishops a large proportion of the patronage which was bestowed upon deans and chapters by the free bounty of their founders. . . . The list of incumbents shows that a very great number of livings have been conferred by bishops upon their own children, relations and friends, when they had any."¹ Another vigorous writer characterises the scheme of the commissioners as an "attempt to reconstruct a Christian Church upon principles borrowed pretty equally from utilitarians and absolutists, from Archbishop Laud and Jeremy Bentham."² In the very able papers published under the name of "The Prebendary" another important consideration against the curtailing of cathedrals is brought forward. "Such a number (4) by individualising the residence of each canon at one time completes the entire separation and individuality of the members of the Established Church; so that no mutual concert or common understanding, of which the cathedral city had been hitherto considered the central or rallying point, can hereafter exist between them."³ But the most fundamental objection to the whole proceedings of the commission was well put by Archdeacon Hoare in his charge to the clergy of Winchester, and upheld in an able pamphlet by the Rev. H. E. Manning.⁴ The archdeacon says—"The power of initiating great Church measures is brought over from its original depository, composed of all ranks and orders in the Church, and it is now vested in a commission, purposely containing one order only of our body, having a preponderancy of laymen, and all but three removable at pleasure of the Crown."⁵

18. In 1837 the Fifth (unsigned) Report of the Commissioners was laid before Parliament on the sole responsibility

¹ Letter to Bishop of Lincoln, by C. Benson, M.A., p. 23.

² Letter to W. E. Gladstone, Esq., by J. W. Blakesley, p. 11 (1837).

³ "The Prebendary," p. 106.

⁴ *The Principle of the Ecclesiastical Commission Examined*, by H. E. Manning, M.A. (Rivington), 1838.

⁵ "Charge," etc. (Winchester), 1837, p. 15.

of the Government, as a preparatory step to bringing in a Bill to carry out its provisions. At that juncture the demise of the Crown appears to have stopped any further proceedings. The commission, as a Commission of Inquiry, ceased to exist, though the Executive Parliamentary Commission survived. The hopes of those who were opposed to all reform were for a moment raised, but that there was no intention of abandoning the recommendations of the commissioners was soon shown, when, in 1838, the Bill drafted by them for abating Pluralities and Non-residence was brought in.¹ It might have been supposed that an honest attempt to remove these palpable mischiefs would have been generally welcomed by the more earnest clergy. But this was not universally the case. In a pamphlet published in 1833, Mr. Massingberd, rector of South Ormsby, had argued that the abolishing pluralities would do no good, but would do positive harm. This startling doctrine was, however, closely connected with the very sound contention that no Church reforms would be acceptable which had not first been recommended by Convocation.² The great thing feared was the absolute cutting off of the supply of curates if sole charges were so greatly diminished. Thus the Bishop of Exeter anticipated the worst effects from the measure. "I am greatly afraid," he said, "that in making our machinery more sightly we shall have spoiled it for use. I fear, in short, that the system will be found to work very ill. How would it be possible to supply places of probation and occupation for the clergy at the outset of their clerical life? It is evident that considerably more than half of the places of probation for young clergymen, and for their instruction in the practical duties of their sacred function, would be extinguished, if this Bill should become the law of the land."³ The Bill, however, passed, to the great advantage of the Church. It enforced residence

¹ 1 and 2 Vict., c. 106.

² *Reasons for a Session of Convocation*, pp. 31-33.

³ Bishop of Exeter's "Charge" (1836), p. 37. How the young clergyman was to gain *instruction* by being plunged at once into the sole charge of a parish without any help or guidance, the bishop omits to explain.

on a benefice for nine months in the year under heavy penalties, restricted the acquiring benefices in plurality by regulations as to the value of the benefices which might be held together, and by greatly abbreviating the requirements as to their distance one from the other.¹ By an Act passed a short time before (1 Vict., c. 23), commonly known as Gilbert's Act, great facilities had been given for building glebe houses, so that there was now every probability of the evils of non-residence being abated.

19. The opposition made to the spoliation of the cathedrals, respectable and well grounded though it was in principle, yet in the face of the miserably slack performance of their duties by the cathedrals themselves, and in the face of the great spiritual destitution of the country, had little chance of obtaining a patient hearing. Thus when Bishop Blomfield, in advocating the measure of 1840, compared the riches of St. Paul's with the destitution of Bethnal Green, there was absolutely no answer possible. "I traverse the streets of this crowded city," said the bishop, "with deep and solemn thoughts of the spiritual condition of its inhabitants. I pass the magnificent church which crowns the metropolis, and is consecrated to the noblest of objects—the glory of God—and I ask myself in what degree it answers that object. I see there a dean and three residentiaries, with incomes amounting in the aggregate to between £10,000 and £12,000 a year. I see, too, connected with the cathedral twenty-nine clergymen, whose offices are all but sinecures, with an annual income of about £12,000 at the present moment, and likely to be very much larger after the lapse of a few years. I proceed a mile or two to the east and north-east, and find myself in the midst of an immense population in the most wretched

¹ Before the passing of this Act benefices, without reference to value, might be held together which were not more than thirty miles distant one from the other; and the ordinary ways of measurement were totally disregarded. The country *computation* of distance was taken as the standard; and this in many parts of England ran in about the proportion of two computed to three measured miles. 1 and 2 Vict., c. 106, has been altered by 13 and 14 Vict., c. 98, which was again altered by the Act of 1886.

state of destitution and neglect; artisans, mechanics, labourers, beggars, thieves, to the number of at least 300,000. I find there upon an average about one church and one clergyman for every 8000 or 10,000 souls; in some districts a much smaller amount of spiritual provision; in one parish, for instance, only one church and one clergyman for 40,000 people. I naturally look back to the vast endowments of St. Paul's, a part of them drawn from these very districts, and consider whether some portion of them may not be applied to remedy or alleviate these enormous evils."¹ What could be said in answer to this? Indeed, considering that at that time there was scarce any trace of the modern activity and great practical value of resuscitated cathedrals, and perhaps least of all at St. Paul's, and that the best defence which could be made for them was that they furnished the prizes of the Church and the rewards of learning, it may be regarded as marvellous that the cathedrals escaped the peril which threatened them with so little damage as they in fact received.

20. The main provisions of 3 and 4 Vict., c. 113, which practically carried out the recommendations of the Fifth Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, were first to enact the scheduled number of canons in each cathedral, then to fix the terms of residence—eight months for the dean, three for each canon—to annex certain canonries to professorships, and then to decree the suspension in a certain order of all the canonries not thus provided for. An important provision was inserted (sect. 20) giving the chapters power to remove the suspension of any canonry, and to re-endow it, so long as the commissioners were not losers thereby. The foundation of honorary canonries in cathedrals of the new foundation was also provided for. All deans (excepting the Welsh deans) and the canons of St. Paul's were to be appointed by the Crown; the canons of the old cathedrals by the bishop of the diocese. New archdeaconries and rural deaneries might be created, and the bishops of London and Lincoln might appoint their archdeacons to the new canonries in their cathedrals. Canonries also might be annexed to archdeaconries, or

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 225.

assigned to the payment of several archdeacons. The separate patronage of any members of cathedral foundations was now given to the bishop. The chapters were to exercise their patronage under certain restrictions as to the persons preferred, and a very important provision was inserted in the Act that "nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect any existing rights of chapters, together with their visitors, to make statutes." All the estates of the suspended canonries, and of the other canonries as they fell vacant, and all estates of non-residentiaries when vacated, were vested in the ecclesiastical commissioners, who were to provide fitting incomes for the canonries scheduled, and to contribute out of the funds thus obtained to the fabric fund of the cathedral; but the bulk of the funds was to be employed "for the cure of souls in parishes where such assistance is most required, in such manner as shall be deemed most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church, consideration being had to the wants of the places from which the revenue was derived." Provisions were made for the division of benefices and for exchanges. By sect. 78 one great objection which had been urged against the commission was removed. All the bishops and three deans (Canterbury, St. Paul's, and Westminster) were now made commissioners, and the clause which made the commissioners removable at the pleasure of the Crown was repealed (sect. 81). This Act became law August 11, 1840, and though it has been modified and extended by numerous Acts of Parliament since that time, it is still the main foundation for the great work which has been done by the ecclesiastical commissioners, a work which has availed to change the face of the Church of England; and which, however irregular in its principles, has been of enormous practical value in application.¹

¹ "It was, however, some time before the *direct* advantage of this Act was felt, for in 1843 Sir R. Peel forestalled the future increment of the revenue by inducing Parliament to impose upon the fund a charge of £30,000 a year for the creation, with a stipend of £150 a year each, of two hundred new districts in the mineral, shipping, and manufacturing towns, and of £18,000 a year to repay to Queen Anne's bounty the interest of the sum borrowed to effect such anticipation of

21. Amidst this crash of ecclesiastical legislation there was one very important subject which had not been forgotten, and which this year (1840) reached some sort of settlement. The Ecclesiastical Courts Commission and its first report, which produced the Act of 1833 as to the Court of Final Appeal, has been already mentioned.¹ The long and elaborate report which followed, and which strongly condemned the existing procedure in the Church Courts, made certain recommendations for improvement, especially in the case of clerks accused of criminal offences, or offences against the laws ecclesiastical. In consequence of this report an Act of Parliament was passed (3 and 4 Vict., c. 86) which regulated the proceedings in such cases. On the application "of any party complaining," or of "his own mere motion," it was lawful² for the bishop to issue a commission to five persons, of whom one was to be his vicar-general, or an archdeacon, or a rural dean of the diocese, to conduct an inquiry, having the power of examining witnesses upon oath. Upon the completion of this inquiry, if the party accused consented, the bishop might pronounce sentence at once, otherwise the bishop might try the matter judicially in his court, assisted by three assessors, one of them to be a lawyer; or he might send the cause at once to the Provincial Court to be tried before the judge of such court, from whose decision there lay an appeal to the Privy Council; and it was enacted that whenever any such appeals were heard by the Privy Council one at least of the archbishops and bishops, who were privy councillors, should be present at the hearing of such appeal.³ This

its future income. But in 1860 the commissioners were enabled to announce that no fewer than one thousand three hundred and eighty-eight livings had been augmented and endowed to the amount of £98,000 a year, to which had been added land and tithe rent charge, amounting to £9600 a year."—Hore, *Eighteen Centuries of the Church in England*, p. 618. For the results shown in the last Report (1886) of the Commissioners, see Notes and Illustrations.

¹ See Chap. X.

² Not obligatory, but left to the bishop's decision whether to proceed or not.

³ This provision had been omitted in the hastily drawn Act 2 and 3 Will. IV., c. 92. It has been repealed by the Judicature

Act, therefore, changed procedure in "causes of correction." It took away the jurisdiction of the chancellor in the Consistorial Court, and required the bishop to sit in person with assessors. This was in accordance with ancient Church law, which gives to the bishop *inquisitio, correctio, punitio excessuum, seu amotio a beneficio*.¹ It would have been salutary for the Church had the power thus given to the bishop been more frequently used, but the option of sending causes at once to the Provincial Court has had the effect of preventing this; the object of passing over the Bishop's Court being to save expense in appeals by omitting one step in the process.

22. Thus in the course of about twelve years the whole status of the Church of England had been revolutionised. The old props and defences had been struck away. It was no longer attempted to guard the "Establishment" by laws excluding from civil privileges all those who did not conform to it. Dissenters and Romanists were now to be met on an equal footing as regards civil and municipal rights. By an equitable arrangement as to tithes many of the sources of heart-burning and quarrels had been removed. The revenues of the Church had been treated in a vigorous and unhesitating manner, which, though it caused much soreness, and was open to many just objections, was nevertheless effective for the great object proposed. The clergy were put under a new law of discipline, and a new arrangement for the settlement of grave ecclesiastical questions was put forward. The difficulties attaching to this latter arrangement could scarcely have been perceived at that time, when theological controversy had hardly been stirred, and the old conventional platitudes were still undisturbed. All this had been done, on the suggestions of a few vigorous bishops, by statesmen who had no special regard for the preservation of the old order of things. It had been done also without the slightest attempt to ascertain the views and wishes of the great body of the clergy whom this legislation so nearly touched. It might seem

Amendment Act, 1876. The tribunal now consists of lay members with episcopal assessors.

¹ See *Ecclesiastical Court Commissioners' Report* (1883), p. 47.

as though a small knot of bishops considered themselves to be the Church of England, and the House of Lords the proper place for settling all ecclesiastical matters. Convocation was silent, and there was but little thought of consulting it. The second order of the clergy had absolutely no weight in the legislature. Excluded from the House of Commons, and having no assembly of their own, their voice could only be heard in pamphlets or archidiaconal charges. The whole state of things was anomalous and unhealthy, though the direct benefits of the changes were not small. But concurrently with these outward legislative changes in the condition of the Church, there was, in fact, proceeding a movement which was to work a still greater change in its inward condition. A set of opinions, new to the clergy and laity of that generation, was being industriously propagated ; and, through special circumstances, quickly forced upon the attention of all, either for approval or condemnation. The Church woke up to a consciousness of life, and discovered that its power did not consist in its being an "Establishment." Soon the voice of Church Synods was again heard, and vigorous blows were struck at the rampant Erastianism of the day. An enormous revival in every sphere of Church activity was witnessed, which has proceeded ever since with amazing strides. The beginnings of this will be detailed in the following chapter.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

SUMMARY OF REPORT OF
ECCLESIASTICAL COMMIS-
SIONERS FOR 1886.

"In their 38th Report (February 1886) the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have given a summary of the whole work accomplished by them in the augmentation and endowment of benefices during the forty-five years from 1840, when the 'common fund' was first created, to the 31st October 1885. The total number of benefices augmented or endowed by them during that period is above 5300; the total yearly value of their grants for those purposes, consisting partly of annual payments charged upon the 'common fund,'

partly of capital sums expended in the provision or improvement of parsonage-houses, or in the purchase of property, and partly of land or tithes annexed to the benefices, is about £739,000 per annum in perpetuity. The benefactions of private donors, consisting of stock, cash, land, tithes, and other property, received by and conveyed to the Commissioners or to the incumbents of benefices, to meet grants made by the Commissioners, amount in capital value to £4,530,000, and are equivalent to a permanent increase in the endowments of those benefices of about £151,000 per annum."—*Defence of the Church of England*, by the Earl of Selborne, p. 165.

CHAPTER XII.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

1833-1845

1. The writers of the "Tracts for the Times." 2. Effect of the publication. 3. Character of the tracts. 4. Vigour of the movement. 5. Opposition to the tracts. 6. Publication of Tract 90. 7. Protest of the four tutors. 8. Reply of Mr. Newman. 9. Condemnation of Tract 90 by the Hebdomadal Board. 10. Mr. Newman's defence. 11. Strong condemnation by the Bishop of Exeter. 12. Mr. Keble's defence. 13. Dr. Pusey's defence. 14. Mr. Oakley's defence. 15. The "non-natural" defence. 16. Mr. Newman's gradual conversion to Rome. 17. The moderate and extreme Tractarians. 18. Mr. Ward's ideal—its condemnation. 19. Secessions to Rome no loss to the Church of England.

1. AT the same time that the movement towards obtaining a public recognition of the claims and rights of the Church of England was proceeding,¹ the party of divines in Oxford, with whom this movement originated, commenced another and a more effectual means of strengthening the Church feeling in the country. They began the publication of a series of tracts,² which, being published at a low price, and zealously distributed, soon attracted general attention, under the name of "Tracts for the Times." The writers of these tracts were all able men. Some of them, as Dr. Pusey, were deeply read theologians. Others, as Mr. Keble, Mr. Newman, and Mr. Williams, were poetical and imaginative. Others, as Mr. Froude, were well furnished

¹ See Chap. X., §§ 15, 16.

² Mr. Keble's assize sermon at St. Mary's in 1833 on "National Apostasy" probably suggested this method of dealing with the prevailing laxity of sentiment on Church matters. "I have always," says Mr. Newman in his *Apologia*, "considered and kept that day as the start of the religious movement of 1833."

with the weapons of irony and sarcasm. They did not altogether agree in their views. Some of them were thoroughly possessed with the importance of the union of Church and State. Others were inclined to set little store by this, and to make claims for the Church which were altogether incompatible with such union. Some were inclined to follow implicitly the teaching of the reformers. Others thought but little of their authority, and were inclined altogether to go behind them.¹ But though great differences of opinion existed amongst these writers, there was a substantial agreement among them in important points. "We all concurred most heartily," says Mr. Palmer, "in the necessity of impressing on people that the Church was more than a merely human institution; that it had privileges, sacraments, a ministry, ordained by Christ; that it was a matter of the highest obligation to remain united to the Church."²

2. This doctrine indeed was the great need of the times. Practical organisations were doubtless much needed, as well as legislative measures to give greater effect to the temporalities of the Church. A pressing need also was the power of making the voice of the clergy heard through Convocation. But the need of entertaining higher thoughts of the Church, and more definite views as to Church doctrines, underlay all these things. When once these opinions should be grasped, and men should come to see that they had to contend, not for the efficiency of a Parliamentary establishment, but for the vigour and expression of a true branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, then zeal would be kindled, courage increased, perseverance

¹ "I had, in private conversations with Mr. Froude and one or two others, felt that there were material differences between our views on several important points. I allude more particularly to the question of the union of Church and State, and of the character of the English and foreign reformers. Mr. Froude occasionally expressed opinions on the latter subject which seemed extremely unjust to the reformers and injurious to the Church."—Mr. Palmer's *Narrative*, etc., p. 23. Dr. Pusey was prepared to regard the reformers "as instruments of God's good Providence in removing error, but not as the founders of a system of faith, and the authorised expositors of our belief."—Letter to Dr. Jelf (1841), p. 11.

² *Narrative*, etc., p. 20.

strengthened ; and gradually, in spite of obstacles, the quickened life of the Church would be manifested in a variety of ways. The publication of the "Tracts for the Times" had the important effect of arousing the attention of the Church generally to theological questions, at the same time that the tracts themselves conveyed a vast amount of instruction on subjects on which the clergy as a body were grievously ignorant. There were, indeed, among the clergy at that time some men well read in patristic lore and Church history and ritual, but these were but few. The class of learned presbyters had almost gone out with the nonjurors, and no great theologian had arisen since the days of Waterland. The Oxford tracts broke up ground which was new to that generation. The great divines of the Caroline era reposed in their folios on many book-shelves, but their spirit and their teaching were but little known. A crude spiritualism, which ignored the claims of the Church as a divine institution, was in vogue with the more serious clergy ; while others were content to preach against Popery, and to rest satisfied with the meagre theologies of Tillotson and Sherlock. There was need of a higher note being struck, and though this could not be done without some peril to the doctrines of the Church of England, yet it was better that the peril should be incurred than that the Church should continue satisfied with a feeble Protestantism, which inspired no zeal, and was capable of no expansion. The advertisement to the collected edition of the tracts asserts that they were "published with the object of contributing something towards the practical revival of doctrines, which, although held by the great divines of our Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members, and are withdrawn from public view even by the more learned and orthodox few who still adhere to them. The apostolic succession, the Holy Catholic Church, were principles of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century, but in proportion as the maintenance of the Church has been secured by law her ministers have been under the temptation of leaning on an arm of flesh, instead of her own divinely-provided discipline."

3. The tracts differed greatly not only in the views of the writers, but in their structure, size, and tone. Some were addressed *ad clerum*, some *ad populum*. Some were mere leaflets, others elaborate and very learned treatises. Dr. Pusey's tract on Baptism (No. 65) occupied a whole volume. The same great theologian's catena of passages on the doctrine of sacrifice in the Eucharist (No. 80) extended to 400 pages. Many of the tracts were mere reprints of some instructive passages from the writings of English divines, as Beveridge, Cosin, Wilson. Some of them were a kind of village dialogues on Church matters. Many were powerful arguments against Romanism. The "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*" was the great test advocated in them. English readers were now first made acquainted with the Breviary, with a view of "wresting a weapon out of our adversaries' hands, who have in this as in many other instances appropriated to themselves a treasure which was ours as much as theirs; and on our attempting to recover it accuse us of borrowing what we have lost, but through inadvertence."¹ There was indeed no point of doctrine or devotion which these tracts left untouched. In the judgment of a very able critic, who was afterwards obliged to dissent strongly from their later teaching, "The writers of the tracts have largely contributed—not to revive, for it was never dead—but to spread and strengthen a practical sense of this our corporate character as we are Christians; to exhibit the Church, as the designation of that body, of which Jesus Christ Himself is in some mysterious, yet most true and perfect manner, the Head. For earnestly impressing this truth and others connected with it, and the consequences resulting from them, the writers of whom I speak appear to me to merit the grateful acknowledgment of true Churchmen in proportion to the contumely which has been in some quarters most unsparingly heaped upon them."²

4. It is not to be supposed, indeed, that this exhibition of High Church doctrine, supported as it was by much learning and great literary skill, should have failed to

¹ Tract 75, Introduction.

² "Charge" of the Bishop of Exeter (1842), p. 15.

excite alarm and anger in the minds of the evangelical party, as well as in those who were termed "old-fashioned" Churchmen. A new school was rapidly rising. Not alone by their tracts, but by other publications and utterances, this knot of divines were bringing Churchmen to their feet. *The Christian Year*, published in 1827, had touched the hearts of all. Mr. Newman and Mr. Williams had shown a power of Christian poetry scarcely inferior to that of Mr. Keble.¹ The former divine by his wonderful sermons at St. Mary's, Oxford, had created a personal following, full of enthusiasm. The massive theology of Dr. Pusey was heard in the University pulpit. An intense activity pervaded teachers and disciples. The Fathers were translated and edited. The old divines of the Church of England appeared in a popular form. Young and able workers were being constantly enlisted, and for about eight years, until the coming of the great catastrophe of which mention is presently to be made, nothing could exceed the vigour, the success, and the bright anticipations of those who delighted to call themselves the Anglo-Catholic School.

5. Of course their adversaries assailed these tract-writers with every sort of reproach. We may quote the language of one of the most learned of these, who was not even inclined to allow them the credit of the learning which many attributed to them: "So far from having the support they claim in the writings of our great divines, they are refuted and opposed in the most decisive way by all the best even of their own chosen witnesses. Their appeal to those writings, as in their favour, is one of the most unaccountable and painful and culpable misrepresentations with which history supplies us. . . . Almost equally incorrect and fallacious are their references to the early Fathers, of whose writings one might have supposed, from the language they have used, that their knowledge was most accurate and extensive. . . . And I must add that their works bear such constant and manifest traces of their being imposed upon and misled by Romish writers, that one cannot but fear that they suffered themselves to

¹ In the *Lyra Apostolica*, the *Lyra Innocentium*, *The Cathedral*, etc.

be prejudiced in favour of that system of doctrine to which the circumstances of the times had given them a favourable bias, before they had well studied the subject in a way which alone could have entitled them to assume the office of reformers and correctors of the Church.”¹ Nor was the judgment of the Broad School any more favourable to the tractarians than that of the evangelicals. Dr. Arnold writes: “It is clear to me that Newman and his party are idolaters; they put Christ’s Church and Christ’s sacraments and Christ’s ministers in the place of Christ Himself; and these being only imperfect ideas, the unreserved worship of them unavoidably tends to the neglect of other ideas no less important, and thence some passion or other loses its proper and intended check, and the moral evil follows. Thus it is that narrow-mindedness tends to wickedness, because it does not extend its watchfulness to every part of the moral nature, and this neglect fosters the growth of evil in the parts neglected. . . . I have been looking through the tracts which are to me a memorable proof of their idolatry; some of the idols are better than others, some being indeed as very a *Truncus ficulnus* as ever the most degraded superstition worshipped; but as to Christianity, there is more of it in any one of Mrs. Sherwood’s or Mrs. Cameron’s, or indeed of any of the Tract Society’s, than in all the two Oxford octavos.”² The extreme exaggeration of this passage may serve to indicate to what an extent men’s passions were excited by the vigorous attempt to revive what were held to be exploded opinions. Nor indeed did some of the friends and fellow-workers of the tract-writers give them more than a qualified approval. “Admitting as we do,” writes Mr. Palmer, “most cordially and fully the great services which have been rendered to the cause of truth and piety by the authors of the tracts, it is still undeniable that the friends of Church principles have not been able to concur in every position which has been advanced by individual writers connected with the tracts. They have indeed, not unfrequently, been placed in very serious embarrassment, by the incaution of individuals,

¹ *Divine Rule of Faith and Practice*.—Rev. W. Goode. Preface.

² Dr Arnold to A. P. Stanley.—*Life*, ii. 42.

by indiscreet publications and actions. They have felt that opponents were in various ways furnished with additional objections and arguments, and that they themselves were committed by proceedings of which they could not approve.”¹ The universal cry was that the whole party was dishonest to the Church of England, that they were Romanists in heart, and were rapidly going forward to a formal union with Rome. It was in vain for the defenders of the tracts to point out that most of the principal tract-writers had written more strongly and tellingly against Rome than any other disputants of the day. The fiat had gone forth that they were only Romanists in disguise, and that their destiny was certain.

6. After events have proved that there was a good deal of truth in these charges. The leaders of the movement saw and feared the tendency, but were not prepared to admit that it arose from the teaching of the tracts.² The most influential of them thought he saw a way of remedying it, and in an evil hour for himself and the Church set himself to compose the famous Tract 90. This tract was an elaborate attempt to show that the English Articles were not intended to contradict the Tridentine doctrines and formularies of the Roman Church, but only certain loose and superstitious doctrines and practices generally accepted and used in that Church, and known as the theology of the schools. Had not party-spirit been grievously inflamed at that time (for which the aggressive and irritating attitude of the Anglo-Catholic rank and file was greatly responsible), a little more consideration of the *rationale* of the tract must have been had before its condemnation had been pronounced. At any rate previous attempts to reconcile the terminology of reformed documents with the formal language of the Roman Church might have been calmly reviewed. George Cassander's admirable labours in the *Via ad Pacem Ecclesiasticam*, Francis a Sancta Clara's well-meant attempt in the time of Charles I., Du Pin's *Commonitorium* in his negotiations

¹ *Narrative of Events connected with publication of Tracts for the Times*, p. 26.

² See Dr. Pusey's Letter to Dr. Jelf (1841), p. 154 sq.

with Archbishop Wake might have been carefully considered. But men had made up their minds that the Anglo-Catholic party was going to Rome, and Tract 90 seemed to show that they had arrived there. The author of the tract in his explanation, published as soon as possible after the attack, says: "I may be wrong in my conviction, I may be wrong in the mode I adopt to meet it, but still the tract is grounded on the belief that the Articles need not be so closed as the received method of teaching closes them, and ought not to be, for the sake of many persons. If we will close them, we run the risk of subjecting persons whom we should least like to lose or distress, to the temptation of joining the Church of Rome, or to the necessity of withdrawing from the Church as established, or to the misery of subscribing with doubt and hesitation. And as to myself, I was led especially to exert myself with reference to this difficulty, from having had it earnestly set before me by parties I revere, to do all I could to keep members of our Church from straggling in the direction of Rome; and as not being able to pursue the methods commonly adopted, and as being persuaded that the view I have taken of the Articles is true and honest, I was anxious to set it before them. I have no wish or thought to do more than to claim an admission for these persons to the right of subscription."¹

7. Though composed with this praiseworthy, if perhaps not overwise, intention—rather with a view of checking the tendency towards Rome than of encouraging it—the tract was at once violently assailed. Four tutors of colleges published a protest which ran: "This publication is entitled, 'Remarks on certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles,' and as these Articles are appointed by the statutes of the University to be the text-book for tutors in their theological teaching, we hope that the situations we hold in our respective colleges will secure us from the charge of presumption in thus coming forward to address you."² The tract has, in our apprehension, a highly dangerous

¹ Mr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Jelf (1841), pp. 28, 29.

² The memorial was addressed to the editor of the "Tracts for the Times," requesting him to make known the name of the author of No. 90.

tendency, from its suggesting that certain very important errors of the Church of Rome are not condemned by the Articles of the Church of England; for instance, that those Articles do not contain any condemnation of the doctrine (1) of purgatory; (2) of pardons; (3) of the worshipping and adoration of images and relics; (4) of the invocation of saints; (5) of the mass, as they are taught *authoritatively* by the Church of Rome; but only of certain absurd practices and opinions which intelligent Romanists repudiate as much as we do. . . . The tract would thus appear to us to have a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own, and to shake the confidence of the less learned members of the Church of England in the Scriptural character of her formularies and teaching."

8. To this Mr. Newman replied as quickly as possible, saying that the four tutors had misunderstood him in a most material point, namely, by assuming that he maintained that the Articles did not contain any condemnation of the *authoritative* teaching of the Church of Rome. He says: "On the contrary, I consider that they do contain a condemnation of the authoritative teaching of the Church of Rome on these points; I only say that whereas they were written before the decrees of Trent they were not directed against those decrees. The Church of Rome taught authoritatively before those decrees as well as since. Those decrees *expressed* her authoritative teaching, and they will continue to express it while she so teaches. The simple question is, Whether, taken by themselves, in their mere letter they express it? whether, in fact, other senses, short of the sense conveyed in the present authoritative teaching of the Roman Church, will not fulfil their letter, and may not even now in point of fact be held in that Church?"¹ It seems to be argued that a Roman Christian who held simply to the letter of Trent, and an Anglican Christian who held simply to the letter of the Articles, need not be antagonistic. Whether the explanation would have done much to quiet the excitement may

¹ Letter to Dr. Jelf, pp. 9, 10.

be doubted. As a matter of fact it did nothing, because action had been taken before it appeared.

9. On Wednesday, March 10 (1841), the Vice-Chancellor laid before the Hebdomadal Board of Oxford Tract 90, with the memorial of the four tutors. Two days afterwards—Friday, March 12—a resolution on Tract 90 was passed by the Board, and a committee was appointed to draw up formally the wording of the resolution so as to express (1) that the “Tracts for the Times” were disowned by the University authorities; and (2) that Tract 90 was to be condemned, as “evading rather than explaining” the Articles. On the next meeting of the Board, Monday, March 15, the resolution embodying those two points which had been agreed upon was issued. On the *following day*, March 16, Mr. Newman’s Letter to Dr. Jelf appeared: “If the heads had granted the respite of those few hours which were needed to publish what, with his usual rapidity of execution, Newman had already in the press, it would have been impossible for them to condemn Tract 90 in the terms in which they did condemn it; for the ground of the censure was cut away. No one can tell how much of the subsequent history of the Church of England might not have been altered, had that respite of twelve hours (for which Mr. Newman had petitioned) been granted.”¹ Dr. Pusey takes a charitable view of the situation, and perhaps hardly allows enough for the excitement in which the University then was. The condemnation of the heads of houses who formed the Hebdomadal Board ran as follows: “Considering that it is enjoined in the statutes of this University that every student shall be examined and instructed in the Thirty-nine Articles and shall subscribe to them; considering also that a tract has recently appeared, dated from Oxford, and entitled, ‘Remarks on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles,’ being No. 90 of the ‘Tracts for the Times’—a series of anonymous publications, purporting to be written by members of the University, but which are in no way sanctioned by the University itself—Resolved, that modes

¹ Tract 90, with historical preface by E. B. Pusey, D.D. (1865). Preface, pp. xii. xiii.

of interpretation such as are suggested in the said tract, *evading rather than explaining* the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles, and reconciling subscription to them with the adoption of errors, which they were designed to counteract, defeat the object, and are inconsistent with the due observance of the above-mentioned statutes." The heads of Houses, as is pointed out by Dr. Pusey, eagerly seized the occasion of condemning not only No. 90, but all the "Tracts for the Times." They had nothing to say for them except that they in no way sanctioned them. And it seems to have been supposed that a convenient condemnation might have been made without any names being brought into it. But Mr. Newman immediately wrote to the Vice-Chancellor acknowledging himself the author of Tract 90, and while professing himself unchanged in his views, adding, with perhaps somewhat of extra humility, that he was very sorry for the trouble he had given, and thanked the Board for an act which might be made profitable to him. The chief force of the hebdomadal sentence lay in the skilfully chosen phrase, "*evading rather than explaining.*" This, like one of Mr. Disraeli's epigrams, was repeated in every newspaper, and continued to stick to the party until Mr. Ward's "non-natural sense" gave a still more felicitous handle for a scoff. Many, no doubt, in the country rejoiced that some action had been taken in this matter. But the sentence of the heads had but little effect in checking the growth of the party at which it was aimed. Rather it had the contrary effect. Four years afterwards, when it was attempted to erect it into a decree of the University, the proposal was negatived by the proctors, who were thanked for their action by a declaration signed by 554 members of the University Convocation.

10. Into the controversy which arose on the subject-matter of Tract 90 it is not attempted here to enter, any further than to mention some of the chief publications which it produced. In the first place must stand the defences of it made by its author—the Letter of Mr. Newman to Dr. Jelf, published immediately after the censure, which has been already spoken of. Very soon

after this followed his defence addressed to the Bishop of Oxford. The bishop, alarmed by the disturbance which the tract had created, *sent a message* to the writer that he considered the tract "objectionable, and likely to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Church," and gave his "advice" that the "'Tracts for the Times' should be discontinued."¹ Up to this point Bishop Bagot had rather favoured the tracts and their writers, but now he saw fit to withdraw his countenance. Mr. Newman at once loyally submitted, and in his Letter sets himself to remove some of the charges which had been made against the tract-writers, especially those of "wantonness" and "recklessness" "of scattering firebrands about without caring for or apprehending consequences."² Having done this, by giving reasons for the handling of the various subjects treated of in the tracts, he proceeds to clear his own position towards Romanism by a large number of extracts from his writings, and then goes on to treat of "the inestimable privilege of being a member of that Church over which your lordship, with others, presides."³ He declares the Church of England to be "a divinely-ordained channel of supernatural grace to the souls of her members;" to be "the mother of saints."⁴ He then quotes largely from what he had written in praise of the Church of England; reviews his own practice and preaching at St. Mary's, and shows that it has no savour of Romanism; declares that he had never "taken pleasure in seeming to be able to move a party, and whatever influence he had exercised had been found, not sought after."⁵ Of this letter the writer twenty-three years after, in his *Apologia*, supplies some account by quoting a letter written by him to a friend at that time: "The bishop sent me word on Sunday to write a letter to him *instantly*. So I wrote it on Monday; on Tuesday it passed through the press; on Wednesday it was out; and to-day (Thursday) it is in London." "I trust," he continues, "that things are smoothing now; and that we have made a great step

¹ Mr. Newman's Letter to Bishop of Oxford, p. 1.

² *Ib.* p. 7.

³ *Ib.* p. 33.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 34.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 47.

is certain. It is not right to boast till I am clear of the wood, *i.e.* till I know how the letter is received in London. You know, I suppose, that I am to stop the tracts; but you will see in the letter though I speak quite what I feel, yet I have managed to take out on my side my snubbing's worth. And this makes me anxious how it will be received in London."¹ Mr. Newman thought at first that the bishops generally were desirous of hushing the matter up; that the tracts had been simply stopped, not suppressed or condemned; and that he had satisfactorily "asserted a great principle, that the Articles are to be interpreted *not according to the meaning of the writers*, but (as far as the wording will admit) according to the sense of the Catholic Church."² Mr. Newman, however, soon found out his mistake. The bishops "one after another began to charge against him." "I recognised it as a condemnation. It was the only one in their power."³

11. Among the "charging" bishops there was none perhaps stronger than the Bishop of Exeter, who had so greatly commended the earlier tracts. He says of No. 90: "The tone of the tract as it respects our own Church is offensive and indecent, as it regards the Reformation and our reformers absurd, as well as incongruous and unjust. Its principles of interpreting our Articles I cannot but deem most unsound; the reasoning with which it supports its principles, sophistical; the averments on which it founds its reasoning, at variance with recorded facts. Does it become a son of that Church—a minister at its altar—a pious and faithful minister as I fully believe him to be—does it become such a man to jeer at the particular Church in which God's providence has placed him; to tell her to 'sit still, to work in chains, to submit to her imperfections as a punishment, to go on teaching with the stammering lips of ambiguous formularies and inconsistent precedents, and principles but partially developed?' Or again, is it consistent, I will not say with decent respect for the memory of confessors and the blood of martyrs, but with due thankfulness to Almighty God for enabling our fore-

¹ *Apologia*, p. 241² *Ib.* p. 242.³ *Ib.* p. 244.

fathers to rescue this Church and nation from the usurped dominion, the idolatrous worship, the corrupt and corrupting practices to which they had been so long enthralled ; is it, I ask, consistent with a due sense of that inestimable benefit ? is it even in accordance with the dictates of common sense to urge as a reason for an inert and sluggish acquiescence in prevailing corruptions (manifestly pointing at our own Reformation) that ‘religious changes, to be beneficial, should be the act of the whole body ? they are worth little if they are the mere act of the majority. No good can come of any change which is not heartfelt—a development of feelings springing up freely and calmly within the bosom of the whole body itself.’ When did the Church witness any such reformation ? How without a miracle could it be accomplished ? Was the planting of the Gospel itself, that greatest of ‘religious changes,’ thus peaceably and quietly accomplished ? . . . It is idle to argue against statements which were not designed for argument, but for scoffing. Let me only ask with what grace can this writer reprobate all ‘changes good in themselves which are the fruits not of the quiet conviction of all, but of the agitation, etc., of a few ?’ What have he and his coadjutors been doing during the last seven years ? Have they been backward in promoting ‘a change in theological teaching ?’ Have they waited for ‘a development of feelings springing up freely and calmly within the bosom of the whole body itself’ ?”¹ The bishop then proceeds to argue strongly against the principle of interpretation advocated in the tract. If such were the tone of the most High Church and the most able of the bishops, the views taken by the other prelates may easily be conjectured.

12. Among the defenders of the tract there appeared some names carrying the greatest moral weight, whose advocacy could not for a moment be supposed to be in league with any conscious dishonesty. Among these stands in the front rank the revered author of *The Christian Year*. Mr. Keble felt himself personally responsible in the matter. He had seen the tract in proof, and had strongly recommended its publication. He thought it

¹ Bishop of Exeter’s “Charge” (1842), pp. 31, 32.

most valuable, "as a kind of manual, to assist in what was believed to be the true, legitimate, Catholic exposition of the Articles; whereby the scruples which were known to exist, and other similar ones which may be expected to arise from time to time, in the interpretation of them, as of other formularies, might be removed and allayed, and our adherence to primitive antiquity, so far thoroughly reconciled with our allegiance to the Anglican Church."¹ Singularly enough Mr. Keble selects for special praise that passage in the Introduction which the Bishop of Exeter so strongly condemns as "scoffing." He says, indeed, that he is "far from supposing that he enters into the full meaning of Mr. Newman's words,"² but thinks that a "whole army of writers, new and old, recommend the view" taken by him, namely, that the sense of the composers of a formula may be disregarded, and that the "plain and direct rule was that the Articles are to be subscribed in the sense intended by those whose authority makes the subscription requisite."³ He then asserts that the "imposers" have always allowed this "Catholic" interpretation, and that to deny its admissibility would be the occasion of most serious mischief to the Church.

13. Another powerful defender of the tract was found in the great theologian Dr. Pusey. In a letter to Dr. Jelf (which indeed is almost a treatise) he sets himself to show the fairness of the two objects which, he says, the author had in view. These were "first, to vindicate the Catholic interpretation of the Articles against a modern popular system of interpreting them, and to show that our Articles, fairly construed, were in no sense opposed to any teaching of the Church Catholic; secondly, to show that certain opinions or practices which, though not Catholic, are to be found more or less prevalent in the early centuries, may yet be held as private opinions by individuals, without hindering any from signing the Articles with a safe conscience. In few words, that our Articles neither contradict anything Catholic, nor are meant to condemn anything in early Christianity, even though not Catholic,

¹ Mr. Keble to Justice Coleridge, p. 7.

² *Ib.* p. 10.

³ *Ib.* pp. 18, 19.

but only the later definite system in the Church of Rome."¹

14. Mr. Oakley in his "Subject of Tract 90 examined" addresses himself to the historical view, thinks that the Articles were drawn up with the deliberate purpose of including Romanists, and that they have been continually treated as having this comprehensive character by divines of the Church of England.² He gives an account of the attempt made by Francis a Sancta Clara, a Dominican friar, in the time of Charles I., whose real name was Christopher Davenport, to reconcile Romish doctrine with the English Articles, and some attempts of the same sort made by the nonjurors. He then proceeds to give a catena of passages from English divines in which they speak with moderation on the "doctrines brought forward by the four tutors, and most frequently dwelt upon in the progress of the controversy by opponents of the tract."³ But his great reliance is on the case of Bishop Montagu, accused of holding Romish doctrine by the Puritans in 1624, and the sentence of the five bishops appointed by the King to investigate the matter, who declare that he has not "affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England, but that which in our opinions is the doctrine of the Church of England or agreeable thereunto." This sentence was signed by Bishops Mountain, Neile, Andrewes, Buckeridge, and Laud. To those acquainted with the history of those days it will probably have no great weight.

15. These defences of the tract, and others of the same tone, had more or less weight in removing the prejudices entertained against it. But the tract was to receive its sorest wounds in the house of a friend; and a defence was

¹ Dr. Pusey's Letter to Dr. Jelf, p. 5.

² It is singular that, in a pamphlet professing to be historical, the ground on which compulsory subscription to the Articles was based is altogether omitted. This was not the act of the Church, but an Act of Parliament, which was clearly directed against the Roman Catholics, and to which the Queen had great difficulty in giving her assent. There are other marvellous historical statements in this pamphlet.

³ "Subject of Tract 90 examined," p. 53.

to be set up for it so audacious and irritating that its best supporters were sorely perplexed. We use here the words of Dr. Pusey : "The second fact which aggravated and fixed the misinterpretation of Tract 90 was the comment put upon Newman's teaching in it by W. G. Ward, the author of the *Ideal of the Christian Church*. He had before this discovered that he could not follow Newman, and had thereupon taken as his guide the Council of Trent. But he never dissociated the letter of the Council of Trent from that vast practical system upon which some of its decrees bear, though it did not fix them. He then interpreted Tract 90 on the Roman side as I defended it on the English side. We both alike acted on our own responsibility." It appears now that Ward misinterpreted Tract 90 in two very serious ways: (1) that he connected it with the claim "to hold all Roman doctrine" (including apparently the whole practical system, not the letter of decrees only), whereas Newman has told us in his *Apologia* that he did not hold transubstantiation until he had submitted to the Roman Church; (2) by the use of the very offensive word "*non-natural*." So then the charge against Tract 90 seemed to be borne out, in that one who appeared as its interpreter claimed to hold all Roman doctrine, which in the popular estimation involved the teaching of the whole *practical* Roman system in our pulpits. Further, the charge of "evading the sense of the Articles" was apparently justified, when one who wrote in its defence avowed that his own interpretation was "*non-natural*."¹ Dr. Pusey adds: "The unhappy word '*non-natural*' has stuck to the whole class of interpretations of the Articles, of which Tract 90 was the distinguished exponent."² Public opinion at once fastened upon the word. It was generally thought to give the truest character of the tract, and to overset at once all the specious defences which had been set up for it. Though the tract was composed *bonâ fide*, and with honest intention, and certainly defended by many of its distinguished supporters with the same animus, yet this single word seemed to show how hollow it all was,

¹ Tract 90, with historical preface. Preface, p. xix.

² *Ib.* p. xx.

and that a sense had evidently been given to the Articles, which neither their composers nor their imposers had ever imagined to belong to them.

16. In the summer of 1841 Mr. Newman was at Littlemore, "without any harass or anxiety on his mind." He was pleased rather than otherwise with the No. 90 agitation. Then, as he himself has told us, there came upon him three blows which in effect destroyed his confidence in the Anglican Church. The first of these came from the period of Church history with which he was busy. It seemed to be borne in on his mind that "in the history of Arianism the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was."¹ The second blow was the "charges" of the bishops, who all opened fire upon Tract 90, which, it seems, its author had not expected. The third was the establishment by Act of Parliament of the Jerusalem bishopric—a curious hybrid scheme concocted between the statesmen of Prussia and England, on the proposal of the King of Prussia, which arranged for a "Protestant" bishop to be established at Jerusalem, the persons consecrated to the office to be alternately Anglicans and Lutherans, and the work to be done being to act as a leader to the Protestants of all sorts. Had this scheme been the act of the Church it might well have startled many; but it was in effect a State affair, to which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, who in no real sense represented the English Church, had lent a too ready assent. However, it much troubled Mr. Newman, who formally protested against it, and in fact declares that it was the principal cause of his abandoning his Anglican position.² But though dissatisfied with Anglicanism Mr. Newman was not yet prepared to embrace Romanism. "I could not go to

¹ *Apologia*, p. 243. It must be confessed that to plain people this cause of offence appeared somewhat unmeaning and dreamy.

² "As to the project of a Jerusalem bishopric, I never heard of any good or harm it has ever done, except what it has done for me; which many think a great misfortune, and I one of the greatest of mercies. It brought me on to the beginning of the end."—*Apologia*, p. 253.

Rome," he says, "while she suffered honours to be paid to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints which I thought incompatible with the supreme incommunicable glory of the One Infinite and Eternal." He also kept back his disciples, as far as he could, from joining the Roman Church. He now regarded the Anglican Church as resembling the position of the Israelitish kingdom after the separation of Israel from Judah, and to bring out this he preached four sermons at St. Mary's in December 1841.¹ The friends who had supported him in the No. 90 matter were "naturally surprised and offended." He himself was perplexed and confused. Early in 1842 he disclosed to a friend that he might possibly leave the Anglican Church.² He incurred (not unnaturally) the "charge of weakness from some men, and of mysteriousness, shuffling and underhand dealing from the majority."³ In fact, charges of dishonesty, etc., were rife against both the leader and his disciples now assembled at or connected with Littlemore, and who were beginning to drop off, some on one fantastical ground, some on another, to the attractive haven of Rome. Mr. Newman's last attempt to clear his position was to write an essay on Doctrinal Development, "and then, if at the end of it my convictions in favour of the Romish Church were not weaker, to make up my mind to seek admission into her fold."⁴ He had previously resigned his living of St. Mary's, and the Development test having proved satisfactory, he was received into the Church of Rome by Father Dominic, in October 1845.⁵

17. Among the Anglican Churchmen who had supported and upheld the Church teaching of the "Tracts for the Times," there was the utmost dismay at the defection of one of the leaders, and many of his most distinguished followers. There had long, indeed, been two parties among the tractarians. Mr. Percival, writing in 1842, says: "I say distinctly I am not prepared to give my own approval for all the propositions in theology which have been put forth in the 'Tracts for the Times,' and in the publications connected with them, but only in a portion of them."⁶ He says that

¹ *Apologia*, p. 264.

² *Ib.* p. 276.

³ *Ib.* p. 286.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 360.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 367.

⁶ "Collection of Papers," etc., p. 2.

suspensions and alarms had been excited which were fully justified, and that advantage was being taken of the solid ground for suspicion to involve all alike in it. Therefore, he says, "it has become necessary to point out the marked distinction between the two parties, and to uphold the value of the general object of the divines alluded to, and of their particular labours on different points of the genuine Church doctrines or principles,"¹ while he declines to become responsible for the others. Mr. Palmer (writing in 1843) strenuously and successfully defends the first writers in the tracts from any favouring of Romanism, but he admits "within the last two or three years a new school has made its appearance. The Church has unhappily had reason to feel the existence of a spirit of dissatisfaction with her principles, of enmity to her reformers, of recklessness of her interests. We have seen in the same quarter a spirit of almost servility and adulation to Rome, an enthusiastic and exaggerated praise of its merits, an appeal to all deep feelings and sympathies in its favour, a tendency to look to Rome as the model and the standard of all that is beautiful and correct in art, all that is sublime in poetry, all that is elevated in devotion."² "Menaces are held out to the Church that if the Church of England is not 'unprotestantised,' if the Reformation is not forsaken and condemned, it may become the duty of those who are already doubtful in their allegiance to the Anglo-Catholic communion to declare themselves openly on the side of its enemies."³ In support of these accusations against a spirit and temper which, he thinks, originated with the publication of Mr. Froude's *Remains*,⁴ the writer refers specially to

¹ *Apologia*, p. 3.

² *Narrative of Events*, etc., p. 44.

³ *Ib.* p. 454.

⁴ The first two volumes of these *Remains* were published in 1838 by Mr. Newman; a second issue followed. "The work never obtained a wide circulation, but enough was done to give deep offence to many minds, and to unsettle the principles of many more. . . . The appearance of such an unreserved exhibition of distracted fancies was a great discouragement to the hopes which for a while had found their centre at Oxford; and the disease of Richard Froude's mind seemed to have communicated itself to his more distinguished editor."—Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 140.

the articles which had been for some time appearing in the *British Critic*, and principally to those contributed by Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow of Balliol College.¹ This journal had for a long time occupied itself in dwelling with great severity on the shortcomings of the Anglican and the supposed superiority of the Roman Church. It was hard to understand how the authors of such unmeasured invective could find any standpoint within the Anglican Church. They became a party altogether distinct from Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Mr. Palmer, who remained faithful to Anglican principles, and it is evident that they forced forward Mr. Newman. He says: "Though I neither was so fond of the persons nor of the methods of thought which belonged to this new school, excepting two or three men, as of the old set; though I could not trust in their firmness of purpose, for, like a swarm of flies, they might come and go, and at length be divided and dissipated, yet I had an intense sympathy in their object and in the direction of their path, in spite of my old friends, in spite of my lifelong prejudices."²

18. The action of the University authorities at this time was of a character likely to hurry forward men not endowed with a singular gift of patience, in the direction most opposed to them. In 1841 they had formally censured Tract 90; in 1842 Dr. Pusey having preached a sermon in the University pulpit upon the Eucharist, which was thought to contravene the doctrine of the Church of England, a committee of six doctors was appointed to review it. Their sentence was that its language was unorthodox, and the Regius Professor of Hebrew was in consequence no longer allowed to preach in his turn before the University. In 1844 the tide of censure was directed

¹ Mr. Ward had not taken any part in writing the "Tracts for the Times." He was one who, as Mr. Newman expresses it, had "cut into the movement" when it was far advanced, and then sought to give it his own direction. Of this party Mr. Oakley was a distinguished member. "These men," says Mr. Newman, "cut into the original movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line in their own direction."—*Apologia*, p. 278.

² *Ib.* p. 279.

against a less distinguished man. Mr. Ward had published a work, professedly in answer to Mr. Palmer's strictures in his *Narrative of Events*, but which assumed the character of a bulky volume, and came out under the name of the *Ideal of the Christian Church*. It was a very remarkable work, and though in many places confusedly expressed, and written by a man who had but little practical acquaintance with some of the matters of which he treated, it contains some very admirable chapters on the subject of personal religion. Mr. Ward had no difficulty in showing that the system of the English Church, as it was then understood and worked, provided but very poorly for the training either of the clergy or the people; that there were many gross and crying evils which needed to be removed, and many additional helps which needed to be introduced. All this, however, was said with scarcely a semblance of loyalty to the Church of England, and with the most open and elaborate panegyrics of the Romish system. In Chapter VIII. of this work Mr. Ward returns to the subject of the Articles and Tract 90. He had before defended the tract on the ground that the Articles must needs be subscribed in a *non-natural* sense; and here he repeats this, which had so greatly annoyed the more temperate defenders of the Tract: "I am firmly convinced," he writes, "that no one clergyman of our Church who will look honestly in the face the formularies which he is called on to subscribe, will be able to subscribe them all in a *natural* and *straightforward* sense."¹ This, as Dr. Pusey well observes, was the "most exasperating defence which could be offered."² The whole book, indeed, was one well calculated to "exasperate," and in consequence it was determined by the University authorities to proceed against the author. As his degree had been given him on the condition of subscription to the Articles, it was held that this practical repudiation of the subscription took away the ground on which the degree rested. "Not the alleged misinterpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles in itself, but what the heads thought 'bad faith' in that interpretation, was the

¹ *Ideal of the Christian Church*, p. 481.

² Tract 90, with historical preface. Preface, p. xx.

ground of his condemnation. Ward, by calling his interpretations 'non-natural,' suggested that they were dishonest."¹ With this view a large majority of the members of Convocation agreed. Mr. Ward was deprived of his degree, which involved also the loss of his fellowship. His secession to Rome soon followed.

19. During all this time secessions to Rome were going on rapidly. Mr. Sibthorp, who had been a distinguished preacher of the evangelical school, was among the first, having seceded in the latter part of 1841. Then one after another, many eminent, learned, and single-hearted men, went on their way. Leading clergymen, who had been doing good work in the Church; many of the most talented, earnest, and diligent of the younger graduates of the University; many of the younger clergy at work in parishes; some tutors and fellows of colleges; a large number of ladies who had been influenced by the teaching of the leaders of the movement; the most popular of those leaders themselves—the man of brilliant genius, of a poetical and imaginative mind, of deep devotion, of marvellous power of thought, and unrivalled facility of expression—went to that Church whose errors and extravagances he had so often pitilessly exposed. A dark dismay fell upon all who loved the Church of England. Many thought that her days were numbered—that at any rate all hope of obtaining recognition and respect for Church principles was gone. That a deep debt of gratitude is due to Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, Mr. Palmer, and the other leaders in the tractarian movement, who at this time remained firm and unshaken, is indisputable. But it was soon seen that the fears which had been entertained were unfounded. The Church of England lost nothing, beyond their individual agency, by the departure of these men. On the contrary, it gained immensely. Had they remained in the Anglican Church as the apostles of Romanising, the advance of Church principles would have been impossible. The natural disgust and contempt for "dishonesty" would have infallibly condemned them. But they went their way, and allowed it to be fairly argued that now all the

¹ Dr. Pusey's Preface, p. xx.

doubtful ones were gone, that the honesty of those who remained might well be trusted, and that there was much less cause for alarm. But the special gain of these secessions was that they threw a fierce light upon the shortcomings of the Church of England. It was now clearly perceived by many that, if the Church were to hold her own, great improvements must be made in providing a better training for her clergy, in making her services more comely and attractive, and in furnishing opportunities for the devout life in community, thus bringing the most effectual remedy to some of the sorest evils which afflicted society. Upon the path of these and kindred reforms the Church of England began now in earnest to enter, and effects were soon produced which, had they been witnessed earlier, would probably have kept back many of her too impatient children from rashly deserting the Church of their baptism.¹

¹ The good Joshua Watson could foresee this result. "Of the Oxford movement he could hope, with a confidence only vouchsafed to a patient and faithful watcher at his post, that whatsoever was monstrous and extravagant would, for that very reason, die a natural death; and the good which the most reasonable even of its opponents did not deny, would be permanent; as has been seen. . . ."—Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 157.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS IN THE COLONIES—DIFFICULTIES AT HOME

1836-1850

1. Foundation of the Church in Australia. 2. Bishop Blomfield's letter on providing a fund for colonial bishops. 3. Formation of the Colonial Bishops Fund. 4. Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand. 5. Bishop Gray in South Africa. 6. Rousing of the Puritanical spirit at home. 7. Bishop Blomfield's charge to the Clergy of London. 8. Violent excitement caused by this. 9. Appointment of Dr. Hampden to the See of Hereford. 10. Formation of Church Unions. 11. Education—The Management Clauses.

1. MENTION has already been made of the establishment of the episcopate in Nova Scotia, India, and the West Indies; but the slow and inadequate assertion of herself made by the Anglican Church in the rapidly-increasing colonies of the British Empire was a matter of grief to all good Churchmen. In 1829 the Duke of Wellington had induced William Grant Broughton to go out to Australia as *archdeacon*,¹ having, as it seems, like so many other English statesmen, a sort of terror of the episcopate. But what could a solitary *archdeacon*, without any bishop to support him, do in such a colony? There were at that time in New South Wales about 60,000 English people, of whom more than one-third were convicts, scattered over an immense area. There were eight churches and twelve clergymen in all New South Wales, and about four churches and six or eight clergymen in Van Diemen's land.² The population, degraded by the convict admixture, was thoroughly ignorant, immoral, and irreligious. About a third of them were Roman Catholics, and the

¹ The colony of New South Wales, forming part of the diocese of Calcutta!

² Churton's *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 114.

governor, General Bourke, himself a Romanist, was prepared to thwart the growth of the English Church in every way. Mr. Broughton, a man of intrepid character, and of the most admirable qualities, who may well be regarded as the founder of the Church in Australia, having after his arrival ascertained the needs of the colony and seen what was lacking, returned to England and "in conjunction with the excellent judge, Sir W. Burton, revealed to the whole world the pandemonium which England had raised up at the Antipodes."¹ After encountering the greatest difficulties with slippery and time-serving statesmen, it was at length agreed that he should be consecrated a bishop, and on February 14, 1836, he was consecrated at Lambeth "Bishop of Australia." By the influence of Joshua Watson the two societies at home placed a large sum at his disposal; and the Church people at Sydney, encouraged and stimulated, raised a sum of more than £3000 for Church purposes at a meeting attended by all the principal persons in the colony.² The amount of work to be done by the new prelate was simply appalling, but he did not shrink from it. "He journeyed alone over the whole of that colony which is now the scene of the labours of sixteen bishops. In 1838 he visited New Zealand, and was instrumental in securing the establishment of that See,"³ and by his activity, zeal, and liberality, the Church was firmly planted in that region destined to grow into a mighty empire. When in 1840 the Legislature wisely determined that no more convicts should be sent to New South Wales, a rapid growth of a better class of colonists set in, and soon daughter Sees sprang up in the various chief centres of population in that vast territory.

2. In proportion as life and vigour began to pervade the Church at home, it became more evident that the important question of the extension of the colonial episcopate could no longer be lost sight of. The first organised movement in this direction was due to the

¹ *Under His Banner*, by Rev. H. W. Tucker, p. 281.

² *Life of Joshua Watson*, ii. 115.

³ *Under His Banner*, p. 281.

prelate whose energy effected so much for the Church of England during this period. In April 1840 Bishop Blomfield published a "Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the formation of a fund for endowing additional bishoprics in the colonies." "The time," he said, "appears to have arrived, at which a great effort is required on the part of the Church of England to impart the full benefits of her apostolical government and discipline, as well as of her doctrines and ordinances, to those distant provinces of the British Empire; where, if the Christian religion is professed at all, it is left to depend for its continuance, under the blessing of its Divine Head, upon the energies of individual piety and zeal, without being enshrined in the sanctuary of a rightly constituted church, the only sure and trustworthy instrument of its perpetuation and efficiency. . . . If we desire the good to be complete, permanent, and growing with the Church's growth, we must plant the Church among the colonists in all its integrity. Each colony must have not only its parochial or district pastors, but its chief pastor, to watch over and guide and direct the whole. An episcopal church without a bishop is a contradiction in terms. We formerly began by sending out a few individual missionaries, and then, after an interval of many years, placing them under the guidance and control of bishops; we should now, after having supplied the wants of those older colonies, which are still destitute of the benefit of episcopal government, take care to let every new colony enjoy that blessing from the very first."¹

3. To provide the means for doing this the bishop threw himself unreservedly on the liberality of Churchmen. In furtherance of the object proposed a meeting was held at Willis's Rooms early in 1841, at the invitation of the Primate, which was very largely attended. There was a general acquiescence in the importance of the object which had been advocated by the bishop, and a readiness to contribute liberally for the formation of a fund. The Christian Knowledge Society gave £10,000; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, £7500; the Church

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 281-283.

Missionary Society, £600 a year for New Zealand ; the Queen Dowager gave £2000 ; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London £1000 each. The meeting at Willis's Rooms was followed by a council of prelates at Lambeth, which issued a declaration, signed afterwards by the entire body of English and Irish bishops, setting forth the necessity of erecting additional bishoprics in the colonies, and announcing the intention of the bishops to take charge of the fund for that purpose, as requested. The first result was the creation of the See of New Zealand, for which the Church Missionary Society had provided the funds (1841), and in the following year Bishop Blomfield (acting for the Primate) was able to consecrate five colonial bishops on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1842, four of whom owed their origin to the fund which he had initiated.¹

4. The Church of England was singularly happy in finding for the pioneer bishops of the vast and difficult colonial dioceses men peculiarly fitted by energy, capacity, and zeal for the arduous task. When on October 17, 1841, Bishop Selwyn was consecrated for the diocese of New Zealand, a more remarkably happy choice could not have been made. The new bishop united the indomitable pluck of a genuine Englishman, and the strength and skill of an athlete, with all the qualities of head and heart which most befitted a Christian prelate. He went among a people of a most difficult and dangerous character. Some faithful missionaries of the Church Missionary Society had for many years worked among these cannibals, but subject to constant peril and often compelled to be witnesses of the most terrible atrocities. The natives, at first ready to welcome white settlers, had learned to distrust and fear them, and frequent wars were the consequence. But the new bishop entered upon his work without the slightest hesitation. During his voyage he had acquired the Maori language, and on his arrival he was able to address the natives. Furnished with a tent which also served as a church, he made his way through the islands preaching everywhere, and carefully informing

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 285.

himself of all the circumstances of his charge. He at once began to employ the native converts as teachers, and some of them displayed an extreme devotion, and became martyrs in endeavouring to convert hostile tribes. Schools were established for the native children, and much was effected in the evangelisation of the savages. But the inherent turbulence of their disposition caused many sad reverses and drawbacks in the work. The Maori nation also showed itself to be dwindling away, and the chief work of the clergy lay among the European settlers who poured in great numbers into the fertile and beautiful islands.¹ The famous pioneer bishop, after twenty-five years of labour, returned to his native land, long to occupy an important See in the Church at home.

5. Not less remarkable for power and zeal was the first bishop of Southern Africa, Robert Gray. Between the consecration of Bishop Selwyn in 1841 and that of Bishop Gray in 1847 several new Sees had been formed. Tasmania and Gibraltar had received their first bishops (1842), and Barbadoes had been divided into Guiana and Antigua. In 1845 the province of New Brunswick had been separated from Nova Scotia; and in 1847 not only Cape Town, but also Adelaide, Melbourne, and Newcastle were added to the roll of our colonial Sees. When Bishop Gray reached Cape Town, accompanied by his staff of helpers, there were but thirteen clergymen in the diocese. Many of the settlers were absolutely without the means of grace by reason of their great distance from any Christian centre. The bishop at once began a general visitation of the huge province committed to him. His power of organisation, his ready liberality, and his personal influence soon worked wonders. "After an episcopate of three years, in which he had visited not merely the whole of the continental portion of his diocese, but had also found time to reach St. Helena—the first bishop who had ever set foot on that island,—he could witness the growth of the Church on all sides. The clergy were quadrupled,

¹ These now possess seven Sees, each with its bishop and diocesan synod, the whole constituting the Synod of New Zealand, the senior bishop being metropolitan.

churches were being erected, the colonists were becoming alive to their duty of seconding their bishop's efforts. A diocesan college school was established near Cape Town, a mission to the Mahometans in and around that city was in working order, and other schemes were in course of preparation for the evangelisation of the hostile and ignorant Kaffirs, and the more hopeful and docile Zulus."¹ The diocese was soon divided by the formation of those of Grahamstown and Natal, and the eventful history of the Church in South Africa has at any rate testified to the zeal, earnestness, and devotion, which were kindled by the great bishop's work.

6. Thus in all the parts of the vast colonial empire which England had acquired, her Church was now to be seen vigorously and effectually working with the capacity of indefinite extension as circumstances should permit. But at home for some time there seemed to be a danger lest the traditions of Puritanism, so long cherished as the proper exponents of the Church of England, and only partially shaken by the attacks of the Oxford School, should reassert a greater power than ever, and effectually bar the progress of the Church. The High Church School of the earlier part of the century, which we connect with the names of Bishop Jebb, Joshua Watson, Mr. Norreys, and Bishop van Mildert, had been eminently non-aggressive, and had been tolerated by the evangelicals with some pity perhaps, but without animosity. But the Oxford tract-writers, shielded for the most part under an incognito, were peculiarly aggressive and irritating. In their various publications, especially in the *British Critic*, they scourged and mangled the old Puritanical or negligent ways of the Church, without the least restraint, while at the same time they upheld offensively and immoderately doctrines and practices either Romanist or akin to Romanism. Their opponents constantly charged them with Romanism, and the charges seemed to be justified as one after another of them dropped off to Rome. A large party, therefore, of the clergy of the Church of England became absolutely embittered against any views which had

¹ *Under His Banner*, p. 111.

the least connection with the teaching of the Oxford School. The Puritanical spirit was fairly roused and ready to do battle everywhere. This was especially the case after the publication of Tract 90 and the excitement which was produced by it. At this moment the most prominent bishop of the Church of England, who, though not a High Churchman in sentiment, had yet a strong sense of order and a dislike of Puritanical and Latitudinarian ways, delivered a charge which had the effect of producing an extraordinary commotion.

7. In the autumn of 1842 Bishop Blomfield met the clergy of the diocese of London in his fourth visitation. Having premised that he thought his clergy had a right to know his opinions on the subjects of the controversies then so fiercely raging, he declared that he would not "enter into a polemical discussion of the truth of the doctrines, or the propriety of the rites and ceremonies which will come under consideration, but simply act as an interpreter of the Church's sense as to the one, and of her will as to the other." Having thus expressed his determination to *settle* the controversies by enunciating the voice of the Church, he first condemns the teaching of Tract 90, stating that the safest guide for interpreting the Articles is the Liturgy.¹ He then pronounces distinctly for the doctrine of baptismal regeneration — says that the article on justification must be interpreted by the post-communion service which declares that we are justified "by the merits and death of Jesus Christ and through faith in His blood," and after condemning the doctrine of reserve (advocated in the tracts by Mr. Williams), passes on to directions as to the performance of divine service. "It is impossible to deny," the bishop says, "that a great degree of laxity has crept over us in this matter; and we are much indebted to those learned and pious men who have forcibly recalled our attention to a branch of duty too long imperfectly performed. . . . There can be no doubt of their having

¹ The bishop uses "Liturgy" as including the whole of the Prayer Book services. He does not adduce any proof *why* the Article is to be interpreted by the service, but simply says, "it may safely be pronounced" to be so.

mainly contributed to the progress which has been made in the last few years towards a full and exact observance of the Church's rubrical directions, as well as to a better understanding of the foundations and proportions of her polity, and the nature and value of her discipline. We ought not to overlook the real good which they have effected in one direction, while we contemplate with apprehension the evil which it is to be feared they have wrought in another." The bishop then distinctly declares that every clergyman is bound to obey the Rubric, and is not justified in falling short of it any more than in exceeding it. They are not to be deterred by charges of singularity or superstition; they are bound by their *duty* to carry it out strictly. "I cannot," he says, "as it appears to me, consistently with my duty interpose any obstacles, nor offer any objection to its being done." He then specifies the administration of baptism in the time of service, the using the offertory and prayer for Church militant, the observation of holy days, the daily service, the frequent administration of Holy Communion. As a little comfort to the Puritans, whom these recommendations must have greatly startled, the bishop condemns the use of flowers on the communion-table. He then goes on to say that he regards "omissions and alterations" of the Church's service as worse than "unauthorised additions." He then declares that the surplice and not the gown ought to be the garment used for preaching, at least in the morning service. After this it was hopeless to think to soothe the feelings of the greater part of his auditory by strong condemnations of Rome, and the use of Romanising manuals and devotional books; neither was it unfortunately much to be expected that the eloquent plea for peace and charity, with which the charge concludes, would have any great effect.

8. No open opposition was at first made to the bishop's charge. The Puritanical party were taken by surprise, and did not see their way clearly to a direct refusal to observe rubrics which by law they were bound to obey. But a storm was soon seen to be brewing. The ultra High Churchmen represented the bishop as a convert and a

partisan; the evangelical newspapers denounced him in unmeasured terms as making concessions to Romanisers. The clergy of the parish of Islington took the lead in delivering a formal protest to the bishop against being obliged to use the prayer for the Church militant and the offertory. The bishop somewhat weakly accepted the remonstrance and dispensed with their obedience to his directions. Then a letter came forth from him, saying, that he did not press for an immediate observance of the charge. Here was a grievous dilemma for all those who had already made the changes enjoined. Encouraged by the immunity granted to other places, the "aggrieved parishioners" in many parishes, where the Rubric was being carried out and the unwelcome offertory collection made, assailed the bishop with indignant protests. He could not refuse to support the clergy who had obeyed his express directions. All that he could do was to plead for peace and quietness, and trust to the tact and prudence of the clergy to bring about a settlement. But these good qualities were not in all cases forthcoming. Some indeed of the clergy took occasion from the bishop's directions to introduce other changes which he had not recommended, and as many of these clergy were regarded as Romanisers, the greatest anger and excitement were stirred up. Sometimes, therefore, the bishop had to reprove the clergy who had obeyed him. Sometimes he found the "conduct of the agitators so violent and so utterly inconsistent, not merely with Church principle, but with Christian feeling and propriety, that he could not possibly advise the clergy to give way."¹ The strife waxed fiercer and extended itself more widely. The clergy in other dioceses attempted a similar restoration of order, and were met with a similar outcry. The leading periodical of the day, the *Quarterly Review*, contributed its support to the Puritanical party. In Exeter, where the bishop had also enjoined the observance of the Rubric, there were regular "Surplice Riots." The clergy who ventured to preach in surplice were mobbed and pelted and almost in danger of their lives. A foreign chaplain (at Madeira), who introduced the

¹ Bishop Blomfield to Rev. E. Bickersteth.—*Memoir*, ii. 55.

observances ordered by his diocesan, was embroiled with his congregation so as to be driven to quit his post.¹ The aged archbishop tried to compose the strife by recommending all to wait till some authoritative decision was given on the matters in dispute. This feeble advice had at any rate the effect of giving the Bishop of London an opportunity of receding decently from the position he had taken up. He found that he had altogether miscalculated the state of feeling in his diocese, and in his charge, 1846, he withdrew the directions of 1842.

9. It was not to be supposed that the long neglect of a decent conformity to the rubrics and of comely ritual observance could be broken through at once and by the mere *ipse dixit* of a bishop. But the subject of decent ceremonial in public worship was now fairly launched, and was sure henceforth to command a fitting attention. It was a matter rather for the clergy themselves to work out as opportunity was given, than for authority to command on the ground of obedience. The bishops themselves had been just as little observant of the rubrics as the lower clergy, and, especially in the matter of confirmations, had palpably shown their preference of their own ease to the requirements of the Church. Things were fast coming to the point of demonstration that to leave the Church to be governed simply by the bishops, without any expression of the opinions and views of the great body of presbyters being allowed to have weight, was to leave it in hopeless imbecility and confusion. The bishops were appointed by the Prime Minister, not always on the highest grounds of ecclesiastical fitness, and would not always be found to be the most efficient directors of the Church. As if to convince all men of these things, Lord John Russell in 1847 nominated as Bishop of Hereford a divine who, eleven years before, on his appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity, had been formally censured for heresy by the University of Oxford. Dr. Hampden had scandalised Churchmen in the University by his Latitudinarian Bampton Lectures preached in 1832, and still more by a pamphlet published

¹ Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, appointed his successor *without the bishop's license*.—*Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, ii. 56.

in 1834 on the admission of Dissenters to the University, in which "Socinians are placed on a level with other Christians."¹ To the astonishment and disgust of the University he was nominated Regius Professor of Divinity in 1836. A band of zealous Churchmen succeeded in obtaining in Convocation a censure of the new professor by a large majority; and henceforth the professor's office became very much of a sinecure, the bishops not requiring his certificate for ordination. Now the Church was startled by hearing that this obnoxious divine was to be made a bishop! A remonstrance addressed to the throne by some of the bishops availed nothing. The Premier declared that an eminent clergyman of irreproachable life was not to be excluded from preferment by the ban of the University of Oxford, which would in effect be to transfer the supremacy from the Crown to the University. Foiled in this, the objectors next endeavoured to interpose an obstacle at the election by the chapter and the confirmation of the election at Bow Church. The Dean of Hereford, Dr. Mereweather, appeared as an opponent, but the ceremony of confirmation was ruled to be a mere formality and nothing was effected. The last hopes of the objectors were in the Primate, who might refuse to consecrate. But at this moment the good old Archbishop Howley died, and his successor, Archbishop Sumner, found no difficulty in consecrating the choice of the Premier.

10. This grievous scandal, which seemed specially designed to outrage the feelings of Churchmen, and to show contempt for the rising Oxford school, had the effect of bringing out the first noticeable association of clergy and Church laymen in defence of the rights of the Church. A *Church Union* was established some time in 1847 in Bristol, the objects of which were: (1) general Church extension; (2) an increase of the Episcopate with some valid security against unfit appointments; (3) the revival of a Church legislature; (4) the restoration of discipline. The programme of this Society declares, "The Church Union Society is designed to supply a want which has long been felt, but is now more than ever urgent. . . . The time is

¹ Rev. W. Palmer, *Narrative of Events*, etc., p. 27.

surely come for all Churchmen to enter calmly and resolutely upon the only course by which the Church of England can be saved. They must be drawn together, learn each other's views, share each other's hopes and fears, face together their common danger, pray and work together for the Church's good : think, feel, speak, act as one man. Whatever is calculated to maintain the independence or increase the efficiency of the Church may be regarded as coming within the aim of this Society. It desires to embrace all Churchmen who are anxious to promote these important objects. This Society is not designed to take the place of a more direct and formal representation of the Church, but to do the very reverse ; to prepare the way for such a representation by showing the need of its revival, and imperfectly attempting in its absence what can only be effected when it is restored. Though begun in a provincial city, our union was never intended to be limited to provincial aims or operations. As it receives members from all parts of the kingdom, it is hoped that branches may be established in every diocese to correspond with committees in London and elsewhere. The London and Bristol committees are already at work." The London committee appears to have first existed under the name of the Watching Committee, which, "in the spring of 1848, acquired the form and character of the London 'Union on Church Matters.'"¹ Another similar body had been formed called the Metropolitan Church Union, and in 1849 attempts were made, but without success, to amalgamate the two bodies. Very soon a greater danger and blow to the Church than even the appointment of a bishop of doubtful orthodoxy tended to bring about united action ; and in the meantime the efforts of these various unions were most usefully employed in ventilating and popularising the demand for the restoration of the action of the ancient synods of the Church. In a "Plain Tract," printed for the Metropolitan Church Union, it is said, "This is the anomalous position of the Church of England. She alone of all religious bodies is debarred by the State from managing her own internal affairs. The Church without con-

¹ Special Report, p. 1.

vocation has no possible way of proclaiming her sentiments ; according to her canons convocation is the only proper organ of the Church. Our statesmen have been dealing with the Church as though her bishops were the authentic exponents of her wishes, views, and sympathies ; and having taken their individual opinions, they confidently, but falsely, claim to be in possession of the mind of the Church. The bishops are not seated in the House of Lords as the representatives of the Church, but as spiritual peers, summoned to assist in advising on all matters pertaining to the commonwealth. In the House of Commons 'ministers of all denominations' are admitted, the clergy alone are excluded. You cannot find the voice of the Church in Parliament, nor is it heard in any diocese. Individual opinions may be gathered from episcopal charges, collective opinions at public meetings, but not the voice of the Church. That voice may only be heard in convocation, and there she is speechless. If the Church were heard through convocation she might settle differences of practice, and lend a uniformity of interpretation to rubrical difficulties. She might advise authoritatively upon the appointments of bishops, and an increase of the Episcopate. She might confer with Government, and express an opinion upon matters connected with education, the ecclesiastical affairs of our colonies, the remedy for spiritual destitution in populous places," etc.¹

11. Churchmen were thus beginning to see a solution for some of the difficulties which beset them, and which, so long as the Church was without a voice, seemed to be intolerable. Of the principal of these difficulties an account will be given in a following chapter, but besides this, and those already enumerated, there were others which were greatly vexing to the clergy. One of the chief of these was connected with the important subject of the education of the young. It has been already stated that a small Government grant had been given to the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society.² In 1839 this arrangement was changed. A committee of council

¹ Plain Tract on Convocation (1850), p. 10.

² See Chap. IX.

was formed to administer the grant, and a scheme was proposed by this body which deliberately ignored all distinctive religious education, proposing that in their training college and model schools religious instruction should be divided into general and special. The former was to include those truths on which all professing Christians were supposed to agree, and to be given to all the children. The latter to be given under special arrangements to those children who desired it. It was intended apparently to introduce this motley scheme into all schools which should be aided by a Government grant. Both Churchmen and Dissenters at once took alarm. The scheme was only carried by a majority of five in the House of Commons; and in the House of Lords, on the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was defeated by two to one. Bishop Blomfield made a vigorous speech against it, and charged the ministers with acting under the advice and impulse of a party, whose object was nothing less than the destruction of the Church. He showed that the Church was the educator of more than eleven-twelfths of the whole number of poor children then receiving instruction, and to attempt to supersede the teaching of the Church by the vague and general religion contemplated would be the grossest injustice to the Church.¹ The scheme was withdrawn, and it was agreed that denominational schools should be aided; but for a long time great suspicion was felt by the clergy, and unwillingness to accept grants was felt, principally on account of what were called the Management Clauses required by the Government to be inserted in the trust deeds of all schools which were aided by their grants. These clauses obliged the management of the school to be vested in others besides the clergyman of the parish, and provided for the visits of Government inspectors. A controversy as to their provisions continued to rage for years, and several modifications were agreed to by the Government. But to the High Church party the clauses were absolutely and entirely offensive, and at a great meeting of the National Society (June 4, 1851) it was moved by Mr. Denison that the society "deeply regrets"

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 267.

the arrangement insisted upon by the Government. An amendment to this was moved recommending the friendly co-operation of the National Society and the Committee of Council. Upon this Bishop Blomfield intervened, and earnestly recommended the withdrawal both of the resolution and the amendment. The latter was withdrawn, and the resolution was then negatived.¹

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 276.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CHURCH AT WORK

1. Difficulties of the Church in large towns. 2. Dr. Hook at Leeds.
3. His organisations and success. 4. Division of the parish of Leeds.
5. The vicar's difficulties and great work. 6. Bishop Wilberforce.
7. His ordinations. 8. His conception of the work of a bishop. 9. His confirmations. 10. His government of his clergy. 11. His missions. 12. His support and defence of Sisterhoods. 13. Bishop Denison at Salisbury. 14. Bishop Blomfield in London.

1. To estimate the power of the movement which, by the middle of the century, had fairly taken hold of the Church of England, it is well to direct attention to the practical application of Church principles in some uncongenial soil. It is no very difficult task for a clergyman, aided perhaps by a favouring owner of the soil, to produce, in a simple country parish, church observance, and, at any rate, an outward decency of life. But in the great centres of population, among a rough manufacturing people, where the means of grace provided by the Church had long been miserably inadequate, where dissent in all its forms had become thoroughly rooted, and the idea of the Church was associated in men's minds with overbearing but feeble claims for pre-eminence—not justified by any pre-eminence in good works,—the attempt might seem to be altogether hopeless. Yet when a class of men had arisen among the English clergy who had learned thoroughly to believe in the divine character of the Church, and were well persuaded that the Church of England was God's instrument for carrying truth and blessing to the people, this was, in fact, accomplished in many of the most discouraging fields of labour. Of these successful attempts to show the practical working of Church principles the most remarkable was

that made by Walter Farquhar Hook in the great manufacturing town of Leeds.

2. Dr. Hook was eminently fitted for the immense task which he undertook and carried out with such marvellous success. His mind was well furnished with sound learning, and his heart was thoroughly in his work, and besides these he had other advantages. He had a most melodious and pleasing voice, a manner which, if not elegant, yet gave the impression of thorough honesty and earnestness; a keen appreciation of wit and humour, and a practical shrewdness which enabled him to judge, as in a moment, both of men and things. But with all this the task before him, on entering on the Vicarage of Leeds, was enough to appal the stoutest heart. His parish embraced the whole of the town and the suburbs. The population was about 150,000. There were seventeen churches altogether, besides the parish church, and eighteen clergy. Some of the churches were without endowment. At the parish church, which was an ugly and almost ruinous structure, all the occasional services of the town were performed, and the small staff of clergy were constantly occupied in these duties. The people were rough, turbulent, and ignorant, though possessed of many good qualities. As to their religion, the new vicar thus described it:—"The *de facto* established religion is Methodism, and the best of our Church people, I mean the most pious, talk the language of Methodism; the traditional religion is Methodism. I intend, please God, to begin soon a course of sermons on the Liturgy, and I fancy some persons who think themselves good Churchmen, will rather stare when I speak of the Liturgy as absolutely good, their mode of defence having hitherto been that it is not absolutely bad; that it needs great reforms, but still it is not so bad as to force them to desert the Establishment; which is here the all in all of Churchism."¹ A little later he writes: "Churchmen have hitherto been accustomed to think the Church bad enough, but not too bad for them as Tories to belong to it. They seem quite delighted to hear me prove that the Church is

¹ Dr. Hook to Rev. S. Wilberforce.—*Life of Dr. Hook*, p. 239 (Ed. 1880).

absolutely excellent. My course of sermons on the Church and Liturgy is received enthusiastically.”¹ Having at the first commencement of his ministry clearly enunciated Church principles, Dr. Hook proceeded practically to apply them. He had been violently attacked at a public meeting by a Baptist minister ; he rose, and while the meeting were all attention to hear his reply, he slowly enunciated, “ I am glad to have this early opportunity of publicly acting upon a Church principle—a High Church principle—a very High Church principle indeed—(a pause, and breathless silence amongst the expectant throng) ‘ I forgive him ’ ”—and so saying he stepped up to the astonished minister, and shook him heartily by the hand.² The applause which greeted this act was only the earnest of that which followed this skilful and devoted worker through the whole of his ministry.

3. When Dr. Hook began his work at Leeds the number of communicants in the parish church was about fifty. Under him it very soon reached 400 or 500. At the first confirmation in Leeds he presented 1000 candidates, many of them middle-aged persons. Three Methodist ministers, with a certain number of their followers, soon signified their intention of joining the Church. His attention was early directed to education,³ which was a great difficulty, as in this manufacturing population, before the passing of the more humane laws which now operate, the whole of the children were employed by day. This led the vicar greatly to value Sunday schools, and to take the most effectual means, by organising an efficient staff of teachers, to provide that Church principles should be taught in them. He found these schools in the town in a most unsatisfactory state. “ They are too often little better than meeting-houses on a small scale, in which the teachers practise themselves by the delivery of sermonettes, while the

¹ Dr. Hook to W. P. Wood, Esq.—*Life of Dr. Hook*, p. 242.

² *Life*, p. 225.

³ Dr. Hook published a pamphlet with a scheme for secular education—a sort of Board School plan, with provision for denominational religious teaching. But this was never practically applied.

children learn actually nothing.”¹ Organisation of all sorts began speedily to grow up. “The Society of the Friends of the Sick” supplied a body of district visitors. In his novel magazine, *The Voice of the Church*, Dr. Hook made his people acquainted with some of the striking utterances of the old divines, and the *Leeds Magazine* soon became so popular that its publication was transferred to London, where it was brought out under the title of the *Englishman's Magazine*. A great era in the work of the Vicar of Leeds was the opening of the new parish church (September 2, 1841), which had been built at a cost of £28,000, and which accommodated 2500 people. In the presence of the Archbishop of the province, the Bishop of the diocese, a Scotch and an American prelate, and about 300 clergy, the church was solemnly dedicated to God. Upwards of 1000 communicated, and the offertory amounted to £620, 14s.² The floor of the great church was free, and the poor had now the opportunity of taking part in the services of the Church in as great comfort as the rich.

4. As his work and success increased, the Vicar of Leeds clearly perceived that the organisation of his huge parish was faulty, and that reconstruction was urgently needed. The whole of the town nominally belonged to the parish church, the other churches were perpetual curacies without cure of souls. This threw an inordinate amount of occasional duty on the clergy of the parish church. The accommodation was also woefully deficient. For upwards of 88,000 persons only sittings for 13,000 were provided. The vicar carefully matured a scheme, which was accepted by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for breaking up the great town into a number of parishes, and thus multiplying to a large extent the centres of activity and energy. One condition upon which the vicar strongly insisted was, that all the seats on the floor of the churches should be free. The Leeds Vicarage Act was passed in 1844, at a very great expense to the vicar, who also by it denuded himself of much of his income.

5. One of the most striking traits in the character of this great man was his utter fearlessness of giving offence when

¹ Dr. Hook to Mr. Gladstone.—*Life*, p. 286.

² *Ib.* p. 333.

principle was involved. Thus he supported vigorously the Factories Act for protecting women and children, when this was specially unpopular with the rich manufacturers, who became much excited against him. The Romanising epidemic, which afflicted the Church of England after the departure of Dr. Newman, fell with especial force upon the Vicar of Leeds. A church built in that town by the agency of Dr. Pusey out of funds furnished by a "penitent," became a sort of forcing-house for Rome, and the eccentricities of its clergy caused the vicar much bitterness. Dr. Hook, however, did not vary in his teaching. In spite of his great public labours he was now publishing valuable Church literature on ecclesiastical biography, Church antiquities, and devotional subjects. In addition to this he was in the habit of preaching every evening during Lent as well as on Sundays. These immense labours were recompensed by a corresponding success. In spite of the enormous difficulties of all sorts with which he had to contend, the great vicar "lived down suspicions, obloquy and opposition, won the ardent love and esteem of all classes of the people committed to his charge, and secured for the Church such a dominant position as she enjoyed in scarce any other town in England."¹ By 1851 ten new churches had been erected,² some of them at a cost of £15,000 or £20,000; and seventeen parsonage-houses, for as many parishes into which the town was now divided. The clergy had been increased from twenty-five to sixty, and twenty-one schoolrooms had been built. Before the end of the vicar's incumbency in 1859 these numbers had been greatly augmented. But statistics entirely fail to represent the work done by the great Vicar of Leeds. His work raised the whole status of the Church in England—exhibited it as a teaching power in a way not previously dreamt of—as able to meet and guide the masses, and take the lead in all things, as well as confer untold spiritual blessings on the humble, the teachable, and the devout.

6. As the work of Dr. Hook at Leeds gave a new con-

¹ *Life*, p. 463.

² Before the end of his incumbency the number had mounted to twenty-one.

ception of the duties and capabilities of the parish priest in the Church of England, so did that of a bishop, at this time happily given to the Church, raise the whole tone of the Episcopate, and contribute perhaps more than any other single cause to the extraordinary development in spiritual agencies which is witnessed in the Church to-day. For where the head is not only thoroughly in earnest, but also sees clearly the most salutary ways by which earnestness may be exhibited, there life and vigour will soon be propagated through all the parts of the body. In October 1845 Samuel Wilberforce, Archdeacon of Surrey and Dean of Westminster, was nominated Bishop of Oxford by Sir Robert Peel, and on November 30 he was consecrated. The new bishop was a man of unique ability, eloquent beyond any man of his day, and of marvellous energy and power of work. He had long charmed the Church by the beauty of his sermons, but the impressions which he created would not have been as strong as in fact they were, had not his character been one of deep spirituality and earnest religious feeling. A man wonderfully many-sided; witty, genial, expansive; but before all intensely spiritual, and hence unmatched in the power of personal influence.

7. Bishop Wilberforce came to the diocese of Oxford when the university was in a most unsettled state from the tractarian controversy and the recent secessions to Rome. But to him there were other things of much more pressing importance than theological controversy. The late bishop, a prelate of the "old school," praised by the tractarians because he said and did nothing against them, had left the diocese in a very undeveloped state. Bishop Wilberforce at once attacked it at all points. His first care was the ordinations. These had been simply a scandal from the careless way in which they were conducted. The bishop had no previous interviews with the candidates, left the examination to his chaplain, and, on the Saturday before the ordination Sunday, came into Oxford, and read, or caused his archdeacon to read, a short charge to the candidates. Then on Sunday he ordained them.¹ Bishop

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, i. 323.

Wilberforce got them all together at his house at Cuddesdon and brought his wonderful personal influence to bear upon them, questioning them as to their spiritual life, and impressing the highest views of the responsibilities of their office upon them. One who for many years assisted him in this work, and afterwards followed in his footsteps, writes: "Most undoubtedly for the happy revolution in the conduct of our ordinations which we have lived to see, we are indebted primarily to the prescience of Bishop Wilberforce, in discerning that men's minds were ripe for a radical change, and to his boldness in entering upon it. . . . A principle of Bishop Wilberforce's ordinations was to enforce the idea that the days spent with him were to be days of devotional exercises. Hitherto the examination had been the dominant idea. He sought to represent it as secondary to the spiritual preparation. . . . The most prominent feature of the Cuddesdon ordinations was the series of addresses delivered by the bishop in the chapel. The effect of these addresses was shown not only in the attention with which they were listened to at the time, but in the increased devoutness of manner amongst the candidates as the week advanced,—more than once, I believe, in the voluntary withdrawal for a while of some who, having offered themselves without due thought, learnt to feel, under the power of those weighty counsels, that the ark of God might not be touched with careless hands, and so in the deepening sense of their unfitness delayed taking the great vow."¹

8. When Bishop Wilberforce commenced at Oxford, bishops who worked energetically in their dioceses were altogether the exception. The most active prelate on the bench probably was Bishop Blomfield. But though zealously performing all parts of his work, the time of the Bishop of London was necessarily much engaged in matters relating to the Church at large, and in political affairs. Neither was Bishop Blomfield of a character likely to originate many new views of the work of a bishop. It is said with great truth that "the idea of episcopacy with which Bishop Wilberforce set out, and which through life he consistently illustrated, was essentially his own. According to him the

¹ Bishop of Ely to Canon Ashwell.—*Life of Wilberforce*, i. 329 sq.

bishop was to be as much the mainspring of all spiritual and religious agency in his diocese, as a parochial clergyman is bound to be in his parish.”¹ With this view he at once attacked the work before him in every part and ramification of it. He did not confine his appeals to the clergy, but at once strove to influence the laymen as well. At Oxford he brought together a great gathering of the leading laymen and clergy in his diocese for the formation of a Diocesan Society, for building churches and parsonage-houses, and for restoring dilapidated churches. He delivered a “long and elaborate address, dealing both with principles and details,” and thus began the work which led before the end of his episcopate to the building of many new churches, the “restoration” of two hundred and fifty, and the building of seventy parsonage-houses.² But the work of Bishop Wilberforce on the inner life of the people in his “parish” was more wonderful than that which related to external organisations.

9. As the bishop had revolutionised ordinations, and raised them from being somewhat of a scandal to become a great means of power and help to the Church, so did he with respect to confirmations. The neglect and carelessness of the Episcopate were in no case so conspicuous as in the utter disregard shown by many prelates of this great opportunity for usefulness—the one occasion in the lives of many for seeing a bishop, and being influenced by his teaching. Consulting rather their own convenience and comfort than the edification of their people, many bishops only confirmed at long intervals in large towns. The candidates, brought from great distances, and assembled in large numbers, amidst the hurry, confusion, and excitement which prevailed, were liable to lose sight of the solemnity of the occasion; nor was there much for the most part in the short address made to them, nor in the unimpressive way in which the laying on of hands was done, to recall them to better thoughts.³ Bishop Wilber-

¹ *Life*, i. 344.

² *Life of Wilberforce*, i. 387.

³ An anecdote is given in the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce* of an inn-keeper who sought for compensation from the bishop because the candidates no longer stayed for a ball in the evening as they had

force's view of confirmations was somewhat different. "No description," says his biographer, "can convey any adequate conception of the vivid impressiveness not merely of the addresses which he delivered to the candidates, but of the whole rite of confirmation as he administered it. His own sense of the importance of the occasion was unusually deep. Sympathy with the young was a marked feature in his character, and he felt intensely the possibilities for good which were before the young people presented to him. . . . No one will be surprised at the prodigious impression which his confirmations always made alike upon the young and the old. The addresses were not prepared, or perhaps it would be more correct to say they were not written, at least not after the first few years of his episcopate. The preparation was rather of himself than of that which he was to utter. Then with these thoughts in full possession of his mind the fitting word-vesture seemed to follow as a matter of course, and whether it was some rustic hamlet whose children were before him, or the town-bred boys of Oxford or of Reading, or the sons of the most cultured class of the community as at Eton or at Radley, the result was uniformly the same, the impression equally great, and in many, very many cases most enduring."¹

10. Bishop Wilberforce was one of the first prelates of modern days who showed that he believed in the inherent power and authority of the episcopal office, and was not afraid to exert this authority even where there were no legal supports to be looked for. The notion had been long (and still is) widely prevalent among the clergy that canonical obedience meant only such obedience as could be enforced by law.² Bishop Wilberforce held, on the contrary, that the clergy are bound to obey their

been used to do. It is said that the wife of a bishop in the West used regularly to give a dance at the palace on the day of confirmation in the cathedral city, saying that it was a pity that so many young people should be brought together without some use being made of the occasion.

¹ *Life of Wilberforce*, i. 392.

² It is strange to find High Churchmen, such as Mr. Allies, and even Dr. Pusey, taking this view in their contests with the bishop.

bishop in all things not opposed to law and honesty, and on this principle he acted. "His letter-book positively teems with letters to clergy touching the state of their parishes, their Church services, and other similar details. As time went on he became increasingly beset with calls for interference, or with complaints which required attention."¹ He never hesitated to give strong and clear directions, and though of course he was accused of interference and meddling, yet he made his clergy feel that they had a ruler over them, and in many cases he met with dutiful obedience where it might have been least expected, and the happiest results followed. The bishop was a determined foe to secularity and individualising in the clergy—the great weakness of the English Church—and he gradually taught his clergy to act together, and made men ashamed of individual crotchets and singularity, thus paving the way for the increased (but still very imperfect) corporate action of succeeding times. Anxious above all things to impress somewhat of his own earnestness and activity upon the clergy, the bishop desired to begin with them immediately from their degree, and with this view established the theological college at Cuddesdon, which, under his close superintendence, and guided by a succession of able principals, has greatly flourished. At Culham he procured the founding of a training college for schoolmasters, which has done good service, and it would be hard to find any department of Church work in which he was lacking.

11. Bishop Wilberforce may be regarded as the founder of that which has proved so great a power in the English Church, namely, the use of "Missions." It was his custom to undertake each Lent a "Mission" in one of the large towns of his diocese. He would unite with a course of frequent communions and eloquent sermons an ordination on the Sunday, and a confirmation, and thus exhibit the Church to the people in all its power and fulness. His first mission at Banbury² is thus described: "For the

¹ *Life*, i. 403.

² The mission began at Wantage, moved to Farringdon, and afterwards to Banbury.

first time, I believe, for centuries an English bishop has been seen giving to the earnest parochial clergy of his diocese personal assistance in rousing the lukewarm or reclaiming the erring children of her Church, and for this purpose bringing to bear on a particular spot the full weight of her divine organisation. The bishop arrived at Banbury at eight o'clock in the evening of Saturday, attended by his chaplain, and two of the clergy of the diocese selected for the work. He proceeded immediately to the parish school-room, where were assembled the communicants of the parish, about 200 in number. To them, after some time spent in prayer, he explained the object for which he had come among them, and called on them to aid him in the work by their prayers, and by inducing any whom they might know to be living in impenitence and worldliness, or to have fallen back from their first earnestness, to attend the services and sermons of the mission."¹ On Sunday morning an ordination of sixteen persons took place with great solemnity. At three o'clock there was a confirmation of 120 children, and at seven a vast congregation, which the bishop addressed with intense earnestness. On the following morning about 160 persons partook of the Holy Communion, and so on with ever-increasing fervour the services continued during the week.

12. Thus, by his ordinations, confirmations, missions, and constant and eloquent sermons, the Bishop of Oxford was infusing new life into his diocese, and making it a pattern for all the English Church. His immense and most valuable extra-diocesan labours are not in this place touched upon. But there was one other agency for good, which, if not originated by the bishop, was yet in its earlier days favoured and protected by him, and which since his time has borne incalculable fruit. About 1851 a lady of a noble spirit, Mrs. Tennant, a Spaniard by race, but the widow of an English clergyman, had begun rescue work for fallen women at Clewer. At her death it was thought that the most hopeful way for carrying on this good work was the formation of a Sisterhood, or religious community of women, ready to devote themselves to this work. A little

¹ *Guardian*.

before this the first Anglican Sisterhood had been formed by Miss Sellon at Plymouth for general mission work among the masses. It was determined to imitate this example, and to found a House of Mercy at Clewer under the guidance of the Rev. T. Carter, the rector, and Mr. Charles Harris, as chaplain. With this house, which speedily grew into great proportions and embraced a great variety of Church work, the name of Harriet Monsell, the first Mother Superior, is inseparably connected.¹ About the same time that the Clewer House commenced its labours, at another point in the bishop's diocese, at Wantage—where the energetic vicar, Mr. Butler, was working after the bishop's own heart—another House with a similar charitable design was established.² These were some of the pioneers in the great evangelical work which the Church of England is now performing by such agencies;³ but they did not fail to be violently assailed in their first beginnings, the great organ of vituperation being the *Record* newspaper, which represented the Puritanical section of the Church. Especially then did these excellent institutions need not only an eloquent defender, but also a prudent guide, that they might avoid all occasion of giving offence, and in both these capacities Bishop Wilberforce served them well.⁴

13. Though the diocese of Oxford, under its energetic bishop, was at this time the most conspicuous for the active Church life which pervaded it, there were yet other dioceses, showing in a noteworthy manner the vigour which was now animating the Church of England. Salisbury under Bishop Denison was an example of a thoroughly well-worked and efficient diocese. The bishop was remarkable for his business-like qualities and power of governing, and though less brilliant than his talented con-

¹ See the *Life of Harriet Monsell*, by Rev. Canon Carter.

² The work at Wantage commenced, with a small beginning, in 1848. It has now reached very large proportions.

³ There are now (1886) twenty-four Sisterhoods, or Religious Communities, most of them with many branches, for carrying on various sorts of religious work.

⁴ See *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 167, 220.

temporary and friend, he was not deficient in any of the highest episcopal qualities.

14. Bishop Blomfield in London, whose powers of work and devotion to good objects equalled those of Bishop Wilberforce, though not always so happily exerted, had revolutionised the state of the Church in London by the number of new churches which he had erected, and new parishes which he had formed. That, owing to the long neglect and the heathenised character of the population which had grown up, these churches were not at first valued and used as they might have been, is little to be wondered at. But that they soon effected substantial good there is abundant testimony. The churchwardens in 1850, on presenting a testimonial to the bishop on the completion of the last of the ten new churches in Bethnal Green, declared: "My lord, it has been significantly said that the churches in Bethnal Green have not answered. We are here to testify that they do answer. We see it in the good order, the improved moral and religious habits of the people; and we believe it will never be known until the last great day, when all things shall be revealed, how vast is the amount of good you have effected in the building and endowment of these churches."¹ But while the Church was thus exhibiting its activity and power, a heavy blow fell upon it which served to alienate some of its devoted children, and to cause to others the greatest anxiety and despondency.

¹ *Life of Bishop Blomfield*, i. 243.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GORHAM CASE AND THE EXETER SYNOD

1847-1851

1. Mr. Gorham examined by the Bishop of Exeter. 2. His doctrine on Baptism. 3. The bishop refuses to institute. 4. Judgment of the Dean of Arches. 5. The appeal to the Privy Council. 6. Protest of Mr. Bennett. 7. Mr. Maskell's disloyal utterances. 8. Grounds for relieving anxiety. 9. The judgment of the judicial committee. 10. The Bishop of Exeter's protest against the institution. 11. His letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. 12. Bishop Blomfield's calming letter. 13. He attempts the construction of a new Court of Appeal. 14. The Bishop of Exeter prepares to hold a diocesan synod. 15. Meeting of the synod. 16. The "declaration" on Baptism. 17. The effects of the judgment pass away.

1. IN June 1847 the Lord Chancellor presented the Rev. George Cornelius Gorham, formerly Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, incumbent of St. Just in Penwith, in the diocese of Exeter, to the living of Brampford Speke, in the same diocese. Mr. Gorham forwarded to the Bishop of Exeter the usual testimonial, signed by three beneficed clergymen, requesting his counter-signature. The bishop returned the document with a side note which stated that as, from his own experience in correspondence with him, he had found Mr. Gorham to hold opinions contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, he could not conscientiously countersign the testimonial. Upon this Mr. Gorham applied to the Lord Chancellor, who, laying down the rule that the counter-signature of the bishop to a testimonial is only to give validity to the signatures of the clergymen, ordered the presentation to be made out, and pointed out to the bishop that his opposition must follow, and not precede, presentation. The presentation having been issued under the Great Seal, Mr.

Gorham applied to the bishop for institution. The bishop replied that, before instituting him, it was necessary that he should examine him to ascertain if he were sound in doctrine. The examination commenced at Bishopstowe, December 17, 1847, and continued at intervals to March 11, 1848. The main point on which all the questions turned was whether or no Mr. Gorham believed in the unconditional regeneration of infants in the sacrament of baptism. The point was one of primary importance. The two great systems or conceptions of theology were brought face to face, and it was to be seen and decided which of them a clergyman of the Church of England was bound to hold. Were the sacraments means of grace, so that where no obstacle was interposed, *ex opere operato*, grace was given; or were they merely seals and signs of a prevenient grace of election, and thus only conditional means of grace?

2. Mr. Gorham's answers to the bishop's questions were well and learnedly given, but, though very carefully worded, they all defended the theory of conditional grace in the sacraments. Even in the case of private baptism, where the assertion is so strongly made in the Prayer Book as to the regeneration of the infant, and where there could be no condition as to the faith of the sponsors or otherwise, Mr. Gorham says, in answer to the question: "Does the Church hold and do you hold that infants so baptized are regenerated, independently of any stipulations made by their representatives, or by any others for them?" Answer: "If such infants die before they commit actual sin the Church holds, and I hold, that they are 'undoubtedly saved,' and *therefore* they must have been regenerated *by an act of grace prevenient to their baptism*, in order to make them worthy recipients of that sacrament. This case is ruled by the Church. I mean it is ruled they were actually regenerate and are undoubtedly saved."¹ The grace, then, according to Mr. Gorham, is not given in and by baptism, but before baptism, *i.e.* by election, and the expressions which assert definitely of each infant that regeneration has taken place are to be interpreted "hypothetically" and "conditionally," just in the same way that the expressions in

¹ Brooke's *Privy Council Judgments*, p. 13.

the Burial Service as to the salvation of the person buried are to be interpreted. Mr. Gorham holds that the Articles are to interpret the Prayer Book, not the Prayer Book the Articles, and as the Articles declare that the sacraments are only efficacious to those who "rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same," so the grace of baptism cannot be regarded as unconditional.

3. The examination of Mr. Gorham having been completed, he was informed by the bishop that his doctrine was considered unsound, and that he could not be instituted. Upon this Mr. Gorham proceeded against the bishop by *Duplex Querela*,¹ and the Dean of Arches (Sir H. J. Fust) monished the bishop to institute him within fifteen days, or to show cause why he refused. The bishop responded by what is called an "Act on Petition," in which he included the book published by Mr. Gorham, detailing his examination, and alleged that Mr. Gorham was unsound in doctrine in the matter of a very important doctrine, namely, on the efficacy of the sacrament of baptism. Mr. Gorham replied to this, and the bishop rejoined, whereupon the case was appointed to be tried before Sir H. J. Fust as Judge of the Arches Court, and came on for hearing in January, February, and March 1848. The judgment of the Dean of Arches may be presumed to have been well weighed, as it was not delivered till August 2, 1849, about a year and a half after the trial. The learned judge completely upheld the bishop's view.

4. He declared the Articles to be, *primâ facie*, the standard of doctrine; but held that if the Articles were silent on any controverted point, the formularies of the Church must be consulted. As to baptism, the Articles declared that it is of use only to those who worthily receive it; but they do not state in what that worthy reception consists. But the formularies declare that a child "is by baptism regenerate," and as this declaration is unconditional in the service for private baptism, it must be taken as unconditional in the service for public baptism.

¹ So called because it was most commonly made against the judge and against the party at whose request justice is delayed by the said judge.—Brooke.

So long as the Articles and services of the Church are reconcilable, and not only reconcilable but necessarily consistent, the learned judge held that he must construe them together. If a doctrine were laid down in the baptismal and other services and in the rubrics, he must look to that source for his guide, if the Articles were silent on the point, and not indulge in fancy, explaining it by the opinions expressed by private individuals. He accordingly came to the following conclusion: That as the doctrine of the Church of England undoubtedly is that children baptized are regenerated in baptism, and are undoubtedly saved if they die without committing actual sin, Mr. Gorham has maintained, and does maintain, opinions opposed to that Church of which he professes himself a member and a minister; and further, that the bishop had shown sufficient cause why he should not institute Mr. Gorham to the living of Brampford Speke, and that he was entitled to be dismissed, with costs.¹

5. From this judgment Mr. Gorham appealed to Her Majesty in Council, and the appeal came on to be heard, December 11, 1849. The appeal being not under the Church Discipline Act, but under the law of *Duplex Querela*, no bishops were members of the Court, but power was given to the judges to summon such bishops to their aid as were privy councillors. They accordingly summoned three, viz. Dr. Sumner, Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Musgrave, Archbishop of York; Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London. The lay judges were Lord Langdale, Master of the Rolls; Lord Campbell, Chief-Justice; Sir James Parke, Baron of the Exchequer; Dr. Lushington; Sir J. L. Knight-Bruce, V.C.; Mr. T. Pemberton Leigh. The lay judges were not all of them persons who inspired confidence among Churchmen, and, with regard to the ecclesiastical assessors, but little trust was felt generally in their competence. Neither of the archbishops was a theologian, nor of any decided Churchmanship; the only hope of Churchmen was in the Bishop of London, who, though theology was not his strongest point, was yet a man of such general, almost universal, power and ability, and so much of a Churchman

¹ Brooke's *Privy Council Judgments*, p. 16.

withal, that it was hoped he would take care to see the case fairly tried, with a due regard to its importance. Meantime the anxiety of Churchmen, who feared that the sacramental doctrine of the Church was being referred to a party of laymen and lawyers, was very great. They could not be soothed by the argument that it was merely a question of the interpretation of the formularies of the Church, not at all a question of the truth of doctrine. Everybody in effect felt that it was not in reality an etymological or philological question, but that it must of necessity involve the attributing of certain doctrines to the Church of England; inasmuch as the judge below had affirmed the Church of England to hold certain special doctrines on the matter in dispute. This must either be affirmed or denied, and, if denied, the reasons for so denying it must be given; which reasons, though in reality they would not affect the doctrine of the Church of England, might yet be affirmed by its ill-wishers to do so.

6. Hence the great anxiety which was felt—an anxiety which was much increased by some utterances of Churchmen in the interval before the judgment was pronounced. A leading London clergyman, Mr. Bennett, the Vicar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, published a "protest" in the name of the Church against such a manner of ruling the Church's doctrine. "Can it be," he wrote, "by the law of Christ that the Church is to be represented by six lay judges who may be out of her communion? Can it be by the law of Christ that those who have no commission to judge from Him should judge concerning Him? that a Presbyterian should be called to judge the episcopal office? a Socinian should judge of the eternal Sonship of the Son of God? a Calvinist of the doctrine of grace? that one who ridicules the whole idea of a Church, an apostolic commission, and the grace of the Sacraments, should judge of the holy Eucharist, what it is, or of holy baptism, what it is—whether it be a means of salvation, a conveyance of regeneration, or a remission of sins? . . . This is not what we promised to obey, neither can we obey it, neither ought we to obey it. We have only to recur to the first principles of the Reformation and do as was done

then.”¹ Mr. Bennett contended that it was not the doctrine or meaning of the Church of England that points of doctrine should be decided by lay judges. This was not the ruling of the first great statute for restraint of appeals, nor of its modification which appointed the Court of Delegates, from the roster of which a Court might be selected composed entirely of divines or ecclesiastical lawyers to try ecclesiastical appeals. It was a modern intrusion no older than the last reign, and was really due to the negligent and careless way in which an Act of Parliament had been drawn. Churchmen might therefore feel themselves justified in disregarding the ruling of such a Court.

7. But now a deliberate attempt was made by a man of reputation for learning and power, Rev. W. Maskell, Vicar of St. Mary Church, to fasten these fetters on the Church of England, and thus to degrade her by proving her palpably Erastian. Mr. Maskell writes—“It may be objected that all the foregoing statutes and decrees are merely Acts of Parliament, or encroachments of the State submitted to by the Church as to a kind of persecution or the like. It would be something, strange to hear of a supposed endurance of a fictitious ‘persecution’ for two or three hundred years, but let that pass. There is absolutely no ground or reason whatever for such a pretence. If language means anything, the modern Church of England is a willing and consentient party to the declarations of the civil statutes of the realm; and not only has she allowed this by a continued and contented acquiescence for the entire period, but the whole arrangement seems to be both in complete accordance with her positive assertion of what is right and good, and in truest harmony with her own spirit.”² This divine laboriously strove to persuade his Church that she was degraded in order that she might rebel. And to effect this he was not ashamed to enunciate the enormous falsehood that she was a consenting party to two Acts of Parliament, with

¹ *The Church, the Crown, and the State*, by Rev. W. J. Bennett, Sermon II., p. 26.

² “Letter on present position of High Church party,” by Rev. W. Maskell, p. 31.

which she had nothing whatever to do, and that this committing her regulation to the lay power was in "truest harmony with her own spirit."

8. Mr. Maskell was well answered by Dr. Irons, who had no difficulty in showing that the royal supremacy, to which Mr. Maskell referred all the mischief arising from a lay court of final appeal, and which he supposed to have only existed since the Reformation, had always existed in the Church of England.¹ Meantime reasonable men might content themselves with the reflection that a bad exercise of a legitimate power could no more vitally injure the Church than a similar exercise of it could destroy the State; that the decisions of lay judges on a question which involved the validity of the Sacraments were simply to be regarded as settling the case then being tried, and had no other or wider significance.

9. The excitement which existed caused the delivery of the judgment on appeal to be eagerly looked for. It was delivered on March 8, 1850, and was read by Lord Langdale. After reciting the history of the case and laying down certain principles of interpretation, the chief of which were that not all things are to be considered as decided by the Articles, but that some matters were left as open questions, and that in the Prayer Book the devotional parts are not to be treated as proofs of doctrine, the document goes on: "The services abound with expressions which must be construed in a charitable and qualified sense, and cannot with any appearance of reason be taken as proofs of doctrine. Our principal attention has been given to the baptismal services; and those who are strongly impressed with the earnest prayers, which are offered for the Divine blessing and the grace of God, may not unreasonably suppose that the grace is not necessarily tied to the rite, but that it ought to be earnestly and devoutly prayed for, in order that it may then, or when God pleases, be present to make the rite beneficial. Upright and conscientious men cannot in all respects agree upon subjects so difficult, and it must be carefully borne in mind

¹ *Brief Inquiry as to the Royal Supremacy*, by William J. Irons, Vicar of Brompton.

that the question, and the only question, for us to decide is whether Mr. Gorham's doctrine is contrary or repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England as by law established. This Court has no jurisdiction or authority to settle matters of faith, or to determine what ought in any particular to be the doctrine of the Church of England." A number of short quotations from Anglican divines are then given, but only a few words torn from the context are quoted, and in one instance a palpable mistake is made, Bishop Prideaux being quoted as the author of *Appello Cæsarem* instead of Bishop Montagu. The judgment then proceeds: "The case not requiring it, we have abstained from expressing any opinion of our own upon the theological correctness or error of the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham, which was discussed before us at such great length, and with so much learning. His Honour, the Vice-Chancellor Knight-Bruce, dissents from our judgment, but all the other members of the judicial committee, who were present at the hearing of the case, are unanimously agreed in opinion that the doctrine held by Mr. Gorham is not contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established, and that Mr. Gorham ought not, by reason of the doctrine held by him, to have been refused admission to the vicarage of Brampford Speke." Thus, whereas it had been ruled by the judge of the Ecclesiastical Court, that the Church of England did hold and enforce upon her ministers the holding of the doctrine of the unconditional regeneration of infants in baptism, the five lay judges now declared, not that the Church did not hold this doctrine, but that she did not so distinctly enforce it, as to make the not holding it a bar to all promotion.

10. The indefatigable Bishop of Exeter made several attempts to bar the decision of the Privy Council from taking effect by appealing to the common law courts. In this, however, he was not successful. An inhibition was refused, and the bishop was "monished" to bring into the Court of Arches the presentation to the living of Brampford Speke, in order that institution might be given to Mr. Gorham. Accordingly on July 24, 1850, he brought this

document into court, but at the same time obtained the reading and publishing of a declaration or protest, which, reciting all the circumstances of the case and setting forth Mr. Gorham's doctrine, solemnly protested against his institution, ending with the words: "And further, we do solemnly protest and declare that, whereas the said George Cornelius Gorham did manifestly and notoriously hold the said heretical doctrines, and hath not since retracted or disclaimed the same, any archbishop or bishop, or any official of any archbishop or bishop, who shall institute the said George Cornelius Gorham to the cure and government of the souls of the parishioners of the said parish of Brampford Speke within our diocese aforesaid, will hereby incur the sin of supporting and favouring the said heretical doctrines; and we do hereby renounce and repudiate all communion with any one, be he who he may, who shall so institute the said George Cornelius Gorham as aforesaid."¹

11. Shortly before the delivery of this solemn protest the bishop had prepared the way for it by the publication of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, which for vigour of style and closeness of reasoning has rarely been surpassed. The archbishop, wishing to clear his doctrine about baptism, had republished a work which he had published some thirty years before, inserting a new preface, which indicated some change of views on the subject of baptism from those which he had originally put forth. The publication of this work gave the Bishop of Exeter a great opportunity, and he immediately set forth his reply under the title of "A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Bishop of Exeter."² The letter begins: "I address your Grace under circumstances most unusual, and with feelings the most painful. In the whole history of the Church of England I am not aware that anything of a similar kind has ever before occurred—that the Primate of all England has ever before thrown himself upon the judgment of the world as the writer of a controversial

¹ Given under our hand and episcopal seal this 20th day of July in the year of our Lord, 1850.—H. Exeter.

² London, J. Murray, 1850.

book. Your Grace has been pleased to descend from the exalted position in which your predecessors were, wisely I think, content to stand. You have deemed it your duty to deal publicly with 'a subject' of which you say that 'it has recently become a matter of distressing controversy,' and you will not think it strange if one of the parties in that controversy shall animadvert on the manner in which you deal with it." The bishop first points out the change which his Grace's views had undergone, and says: "I cannot adequately express my regret that now, in your advanced years, you should materially impair and almost contradict the sounder teaching of your earlier years." He animadverts strongly on the views on baptism now put forth, especially on the assertion that faith in those who present them is required for infants to receive the full benefit of baptism. This the bishop declares is "rank Popery, and worse than Popery. The Council of Trent makes recourse to other mediators and intercessors with God than Christ to be no more than a pious and useful practice, your Grace makes it to be necessary to salvation—for you make it necessary to the right and beneficial reception of that Sacrament which is acknowledged by your Grace to be 'necessary to salvation.' I stand aghast when I hear such teaching from such a place." The archbishop had said that this view of baptism was *primitive*. The bishop demands what single father, what single council, what single catholic writer of the Primitive Church, ever advocated it. He had said that it was *Scriptural*; the bishop calls upon him to produce any one text of Scripture which justifies this statement. He had called it *reasonable*; the bishop shows it to be absolutely unreasonable to make the salvation of one depend on the uncertain condition of others. He then shows that the archbishop had contradicted himself in his book, and proceeds: "But if self-contradiction were all that I had to object to your Grace's book, I should not think it necessary to trouble you or myself, much less the Church at large, on the matter. My complaint is of a much graver character. My lord, you were summoned to attend the hearing of the late cause before the judicial committee of Her Majesty's Council, in

order that you might assist them in dealing with the questions of doctrine involved in that cause ; and I grieve to think that instead of leading you must have misled those whom you were to instruct, not only by misstating the matters on which you advised, but also by misquoting all, or almost all, the authors cited by you in confirmation of your statement." This tremendous charge the bishop proceeds to justify, and unquestionably succeeds almost entirely in doing so. He shows that the archbishop's views were not supported by the authorities which he had adduced ; that he had quoted Cartwright instead of Hooker ; had relied upon a work attributed to Usher, but certainly not written by him ; that he had misrepresented Bishop Jeremy Taylor ; had made the unfounded assertion that Bullinger's Decades were sanctioned by the English Convocation ; had cited words used by Bishop Pearson on the baptism of adults as applying to the baptism of infants ; and then giving a detailed account of Mr. Gorham's heresies, he continues : "I can hardly describe with what amazement I found these heresies glossed over, or almost unnoticed in the judgment. I cannot, indeed, be surprised that highly respectable common law judges should not understand theological statements, and this does but illustrate the utter unfitness of such a court for the very responsible office put upon it, to decide upon appeal whether a clerk charged with unsound doctrine was fitted for the cure of souls. But, my lord, I cannot understand how even your wish to see everything as favourably as you can, can have betrayed you into countenancing such entire misstatement of unsound doctrine." "My lord, I have heard it said that although this judgment is not absolutely conclusive, yet it is a precedent which every inferior court will be bound to follow, and which even the highest court will be bound to respect, and not, except on the plainest ground, hereafter to supersede. I deny that it is a precedent ; technically it may be called so, but morally and really it is not a precedent but a *warning*—a warning to future judges to be content with doing their duty as *judges*, which duty is to administer, not to make, laws ; to beware of listening to clamours from without,

or timid caution from within, viz. that the consequences of a strictly right decision would be to introduce confusion into the Church, and it may be into the State; to drive hundreds of conscientious men out of the Ministry; to shock the feelings and oppose the prejudices of a large and valuable portion of the laity of the Church." "My lord, I shall not be thought to impute wrong motives to your Grace beyond the common infirmity of our nature if I aver my belief that other motives besides mere justice and truth swayed this sentence and your Grace in your advice upon it. I cannot imagine that English judges could have been betrayed into so grievous a perversion of justice, or your Grace into sanctioning it, had there not been some very powerful motive which, through the kindly feelings of our nature, blinded their and your eyes to the evil of tampering with justice. Common report said that such principles were even avowed. It was feared that, if a true judgment were given, a large number of clergymen would be driven to resign their offices, perhaps to leave the Church. And so a temporising measure was adopted, which it was thought would satisfy both parties, and leave the position of both untouched. This judgment does not do so. Those who were in error it confirms in their special error as to baptism, and teaches them a more extensive and dangerous error—that there is no certain truth to be had. They, to whom the grace of baptism was part of their faith, as a fruit of the incarnation of their Lord, as a sacrament which flowed from their dead Saviour's side, as the source of their own new birth, must *hold* it as a part of their faith still. We cannot unlearn our faith. But how are they to *teach* it? They must teach it still as matter of faith. But *whose* faith? Their own? They have no authority to impress *their own* faith upon others. They cannot teach authoritatively that it is a part of the faith only because they individually believe it. On whose, then? On that of the whole holy Catholic Church at all times? But if it be a part of the faith of the Catholic Church from age to age, what would the Act of the Church of England have been had she (as alleged in the judgment) con-

structed her Articles so as to leave it open to her ministers to believe or disbelieve, to affirm or contradict, an article of faith? So to imply that it is at our option to believe it or no would be to deny that it is a matter of faith. On the faith of the English Church too? Yes! God be thanked it is part of the faith of the Church of England still, and nothing can rob us of it. Nothing but the Church has power to deny, in her name, that any doctrine is part of the faith of the Church." "Meanwhile, I have one most painful duty to perform. I have to protest not only against the judgment given in the recent cause, but also against the regular consequences of that judgment. I have to protest against your Grace's doing what you will be speedily called to do, either in person or by some other exercising your authority. I have to protest, and I do hereby solemnly protest before the Church of England, before the Holy Catholic Church, before Him who is its Divine Head, against your giving mission to exercise cure of souls, within my diocese, to a clergyman who proclaims himself to hold the opinions which Mr. Gorham holds. I protest that any one who gives mission to him till he retract is a favourer and supporter of those heresies. I protest, in conclusion, that I cannot, without sin, and by God's grace I will not, hold communion with him, be he who he may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears." The bishop, profoundly impressed as he was with the importance of the crisis, then proceeded to take steps for holding a diocesan synod—a very rare proceeding since the Reformation—in which the doctrine of the Church might be formally reasserted.

12. Meantime another bishop, who had been principally concerned in the trial, was doing his utmost to soothe the excited feeling which prevailed both among clergy and laity, and which found expression in a monster meeting held at St. Martin's Hall and the adjoining Freemasons' Tavern. Bishop Blomfield had refused to concur in the judgment, and by so doing had rejoiced the hearts of many faithful Churchmen. Joshua Watson considered his refusal as a set-off against the whole sentence. Mr. Gladstone wrote to thank him for this "not the last, he trusted, and

certainly not the least of his services to the Church.”¹ In a published letter to Mr. Beresford Hope the bishop argued admirably. “I would desire you to consider in what respect the recent judgment has so altered the character of our Church as to justify any of her members in severing their connection with her. That judgment may be erroneous, may be a wrong interpretation of the Church’s mind, but it is the interpretation adopted by a few fallible men, not by any body authorised by the Church to settle any point of doctrine, nor can it have the effect of changing any of the Church’s doctrines. That of baptismal regeneration stands in her Articles and Liturgy as it did before. That is not denied, nor even questioned by the judgment, the purport of which is that to those who admit the Church’s doctrine of baptismal grace a greater latitude of explanation is permitted than you or I think right. But this after all is only the opinion of a court of law, not the decision of the Church itself in convocation. I hold that until the Church’s Articles and Formularies are altered by the authority of Convocation, or of some synod equivalent to Convocation, her character as a teacher of truth remains unchanged; and that nothing short of a formal act of the Church, itself repudiating what it has hitherto asserted as truth, can warrant a man in quitting her communion.”²

13. The bishop’s next attempt was to procure if possible a more satisfactory Court of Appeal in matters of doctrine. With this view he brought into the House of Lords a Bill to give the right of hearing appeals in matters of heresy to the Upper House of Convocation, which had been the final Court of Appeal in the Reformation Statute, and which still retained the power for certain causes. He proposed that certain of the lay judges should be called in as assessors, or that the Queen should add such judges as she thought proper. This Bill found, as might be expected, no favour with the Whig ministry. The bishop, however, brought it on in the House of Lords, and advocated it in an eloquent speech, but was defeated by a majority of 84 to 51.

¹ *Memoir of Bishop Blomfield*, ii. 120.

² *Ib.*, ii. 124.

14. Meantime the steps which the Bishop of Exeter was taking in his diocese to hold a diocesan synod excited the most lively alarm among the Whigs and Latitudinarians. On May 2, 1851, Mr. Childers in the House of Commons asked the Prime Minister what Government intended to do with respect to the synod proposed to be held by the Bishop of Exeter, and at the same time read the letter addressed by the bishop to the archdeacons of his diocese. In this the bishop desires the archdeacons to inform the clergy through the rural deans that he was about to hold a synod of the diocese on June 25 and the two following days. The great object of the synod would be to make a declaration of firm adherence to the article in the Creed — "I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins," and on the doctrine of the Church on the grace of that sacrament as set forth in the Catechism. The clergy of each deanery were to be invited to elect two of their number to be present at the synod. Any other questions which the clergy should desire to have treated at the synod were to be forwarded to the bishop six weeks previously to its opening. The Prime Minister replied that he had consulted the law officers of the Crown as to the legality of the proposed synod, and that, inasmuch as the bishop did not propose to enact any canons, they were of opinion that there was nothing contrary to law or opposed to the statute of the submission of the clergy in his holding such a synod. The Attorney-General added that the 73d canon did not prohibit diocesan synods, nor was there any law which prohibited the holding of such synods or which prescribed penalties on those who attended them.¹

15. The synod met accordingly on June 25, 1851, and was attended with the greatest success. Of thirty-two rural deaneries in the diocese there were only two which refused to elect representatives, and of the official members of the synod the greater part were at their posts. "Considering," says the "Report of the Metropolitan Church Union," "the pains taken to defeat the bishop's intention by preventing the clergy from assembling in such numbers as to constitute a fair representation of the diocese, the re-

¹ "Report of Metropolitan Church Union."—Appendix.

sult is highly encouraging. No less gratifying is the fact that, in spite of the endeavours made to excite the public feeling in opposition to the synod, to an extent which seemed at one time to threaten the peace of the cathedral city, no commotion or demonstration of any kind took place, but the synod was protected in the discharge of its functions by an evident feeling of respect on the part of a population certainly not prejudiced in favour of its proceedings."¹

16. The declaration "on Baptism," agreed to by the synod ran as follows:—

"We, the Bishop and Clergy of the diocese of Exeter in synod assembled, at this time deem it necessary to declare our firm and immovable adherence to that great article of Faith—'one baptism for the remission of sins'—affirming it, as it is authoritatively set forth in the Nicene Creed by the second œcumenical council, has since been held by the Catholic Church in all ages, and is taught unequivocally by our own Church in its authorised formularies, especially in the offices of baptism and in the Catechism; and we are the rather induced to make this declaration, because we hope that many who are now divided from us may be brought to agreement by thus knowing the real meaning and extent of the doctrine which we hold.

"Therefore we declare

"I. Acknowledging 'one baptism for the remission of sins,' we hold as of faith, that all persons, duly baptized (and, being adults, with fit qualifications), are not only baptized *once for all*, but also are baptized with the *one true baptism* of Him who 'baptizeth with the Holy Ghost,' and who thus, making us to be 'born again of water and of the Spirit,' delivers us thereby from the guilt and bondage of all our sins, of original and past sin absolutely and at once, of sins committed after baptism conditionally, when with hearty repentance and true faith we turn unto God. We hold as implied in the aforesaid article of the Creed all the great graces ascribed to baptism in our Catechism. For 'by one spirit we are all baptized into one body,' even the body of Jesus Christ; we are made to be 'His body,'

¹ "Report of Metropolitan Church Union," p. 4.

'members in particular' of His body, 'members of Christ.' And being thus 'baptized unto Him, we are baptized into His death,' who 'died for our sins.' We are 'dead with Him,' 'dead unto sin,' 'buried with Him in baptism, wherein also we are risen with Him,' 'made to sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus,' 'our life is hid with Christ in God.' Believing that the Holy Ghost so joins us in baptism to Jesus Christ that we are 'in Him' 'created in Christ Jesus,' we believe also that we are *children of God in Him*, and 'if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ.' *Inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.*

"II. We hold accordingly that all infants presented either in church or privately, according to the Book of Common Prayer, and baptized with water in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, do in and by baptism 'receive remission of sins by spiritual regeneration,' and are made members of Christ, being spiritually ingrafted and incorporated into His mystical body, original sin being so far from an obstacle to the right reception of baptism that, as St. Augustine says, 'Infants, because they are not as yet guilty of any actual sin, have the original sin that is in them remitted, through the grace of Him who saveth 'by the washing of regeneration,' and as our own Church declares, that the baptized child, being born in original sin, and in the wrath of God, is by the laver of regeneration in baptism received into the number of the children of God, and heirs of everlasting life; for our Lord Jesus Christ doth not deny His grace and mercy unto such infants, but most lovingly doth call them unto Him;' and in accordance therewith Article XXXVII. expressly says, 'The baptism of young children is most agreeable with the institution of Christ.'

"III. We hold that the imparting of the aforesaid graces in the baptism of young children is not hypothetical—depending either upon the sincerity of those who present them or on any other conditions;¹ for else it would

¹ This must be regarded as an over-statement. Certain conditions are evidently required, viz. water, invocation, and the use of the name of the Trinity.

follow that in cases in which the said conditions do not take place, both the form of baptism itself and the article, 'one baptism for the remission of sins,' must be understood not as true, but as false and unreal.

"IV. Lastly, we hold and would earnestly impress upon all Christians that the foregoing statements, rightly understood, so far from disparaging the need of conversion and amendment, are a most powerful incentive to newness of life, and especially to fervent prayer for renewed or continued grace, so long as the term of our probation in this life shall last. For baptism being the ordinance and instrument of Christ by which we are 'born again of the Spirit,' it binds us to do that which it enables us to do, 'to walk in the Spirit, and not to fulfil the lusts of the flesh,' for, 'if we live after the flesh we shall die, but if we through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body we shall live.' Baptism makes our 'body' to be 'the Temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in us, which we have of God,' and 'if any man defile the Temple of God him shall God destroy, for the Temple of God is holy.' Wherefore it follows that they who being baptized live not after the Spirit but after the flesh do thereby draw upon themselves greater damnation, or, if 'by the grace of God they arise again,' have need of the deeper repentance, as having done despite to the Spirit which was in them."¹

17. Such was the elaborate declaration by which the Bishop of Exeter, in conjunction with his clergy, sought to remove any ill effects or any doubts as to the doctrine of the Church of England, arising from the late judgment of the five lawyers. It was indeed soon so clearly perceived that that judgment in no way affected the teaching of the Church, and that the opinions of Mr. Gorham were utterly fantastic and unfounded, that the excitement caused by the judgment quickly passed away. The doctrine of the Church remained unimpaired and unaltered. Indeed we have some authority for saying that the whole movement did good. "The doctrine of baptismal grace," says Archdeacon Wilberforce, "may be considered to stand in a more favourable position in consequence of the very efforts

¹ "Report of Metropolitan Church Union," pp. 13, 14.

which have been made to discredit it. Its relation to the doctrines of grace is more fully understood. It is seen that so far from superseding the necessity of a real conversion, it is the very basis on which the action of God's Spirit on the heart must be grounded. For there are only two theories according to which the renewal of man's nature can be made to depend on the agency of grace. One, that which supposes its efficiency is limited by the arbitrary decree of the Almighty Giver; the other, that which maintains that the gift of grace is bestowed upon all, but that the responsibility of rejection rests with the receiver. The first of these is the system of Calvinism; the second resolves itself into that of baptismal grace."¹ One good effect at any rate was produced by this famous judgment. It served to convince even the most timid and hesitating of Churchmen of the absolute necessity of reviving the action of the synods of the Church, and no longer leaving her without a voice and power of expression exposed to the attacks of her enemies.

¹ "Charge to Clergy of East Riding," p. 25. Archdeacon Wilberforce's words may serve as a protest against his own action. Soon after the delivery of this charge, this learned, talented, and beloved divine seceded to the Church of Rome. His connection, another talented and distinguished archdeacon, the most impressive preacher of the day, had gone before him. In these two men, endowed as they were with all the highest qualities of the clerical character, the Church of England suffered a still greater loss than in the academical secessions of earlier date.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REVIVAL OF CONVOCATION

1847-1852

1. Impatience at the long silence of Convocation. 2. Protests against it.
3. Debate in Canterbury Convocation on the address, 1847. 4. Imperfect knowledge of the constitution of Convocation. 5. The Society for the revival of Convocation. 6. The debate in the House of Lords.
7. The resolve to take legal opinions. 8. The opinions of the lawyers consulted. 9. Anticipations of the meeting of Convocation. 10. Meeting of Synod of Canterbury, November 5, 1852. 11. The proceedings at Westminster on November 15. 12. The discussion on November 16. 13. Convocation of Canterbury prorogued. 14. Revival of Convocation of Canterbury due to Bishop Wilberforce. 15. The Convocation of York.

1. FROM the period when the blood began to flow more freely in the veins of the English Church—a period which we shall not be far wrong in dating at about 1833—constant complaints had been made by all the more earnest Churchmen as to the silence of the Convocation.¹ A Church without synods, or any legitimate means of expression, was seen to be an utter anomaly. What in such a state of things could be expected other than hasty, crude, and unfair legislation on ecclesiastical matters, and that tendency to secularity and individualism among the clergy, which had long been (and still is in a less degree) the main

¹ There had been some attempts prior to this. Bishop Monk says in his charge of 1851 :—“The earliest attempt at a movement in favour of the revival of the legislative action of Convocation took place twenty-five years ago (1826), when I had the honour to be chosen prolocutor of the Lower House. Some of the members, it seems, wished to address the crown, asking to be allowed to proceed to business, but the majority (including the prolocutor) were opposed to it.”—*Catena of Episcopal Authorities*, published by Society for Revival of Convocation, p. 4.

source of weakness in the English Church? The bishops in the House of Lords were no adequate exponents of Church opinion. As they themselves held no synods, and for the most part acted merely on the information of a few counsellors, they often knew but little of the mind of the clergy. Many of them, appointed from family connections, or for academical distinction, had never had any practical experience of the ministerial life. Elevated among the peers, they could not bring down their views to the level of the lower clergy, and not unfrequently they had imbibed a good deal of the Erastianism prevalent among leading statesmen. The crying need of a Church synod was patent to every one who thought and read, except where the mind was warped by prejudice. Hence a constant stream of pamphlets was directed against the long-standing abuse and injustice of keeping the Church, through its connection with the State, in an enforced silence. The Convocation of Canterbury had been suppressed, because it threatened to denounce in plain terms the writings of a Latitudinarian and Socinian bishop. For this offence against the *régime* of George I. the ancient synods of the Church had been, for more than one hundred years, only suffered to meet formally at the beginning of a Parliament, to vote an address to the Crown and then to separate.¹ The whole thing, including the election of proctors, was conspicuously a mere farce. In the year 1841 there was no Upper House at all on the day of the first meeting at Westminster. The prolocutor of the Lower House could not be confirmed. The Lower House, therefore, was never regularly constituted, so that even the voting of the address could not be properly done.² In fact, so little did Convocation obtrude itself that many of the clergy, and the great majority of the laity, did not even know that it continued its torpid existence. Even "Churchmen, excepting a few antiquarians, knew only of this synod that it had once been active; but that of late a few clergymen, chosen they knew

¹ That is to say, they held themselves to be thus fettered, and the State had not told them otherwise. They might, no doubt, have initiated action, but then they would have been immediately pro-rogued.

² Warren's *Synodalia*, p. 19.

not how, met two or three bishops they knew not when, and presented an address to the Crown, for what purpose they could not tell.”¹

2. The first pleas for the revival of Convocation were couched in a very modest tone. A writer, commenting on the prejudices entertained against the action of ecclesiastical bodies, pleads: “Is not the prerogative alone an ample security to any government against any attempt to pervert the Convocation into a political arena, or into an advanced post of annoyance? Will not the very consciousness that they are dependent at all times upon the King’s license for permission to meet, and by the King’s writ may be prorogued or dissolved at any time, rivet them strictly to their own Church business? And though severe restraints were necessary in former times against the remains of papal independency, and would be still necessary if the spirit of nonconforming independency should ever find its way into the Convocations, yet is not the rigour of those restraints fairly mitigable under present circumstances, and in favour of a Protestant communion, so scripturally observant, under God, of the civil power, as the Church of England?”² But a bolder and more confident tone in demanding this just right of the Church soon began to prevail, distinctly traceable to the action of the Church Unions, which began to come into existence about 1847.³ All these bodies put prominently forward as one especial object of their aims and endeavours the revival of the synodical action of the English Church. Accordingly now some bolder accents were heard from the members of Convocation itself, assembled in their formal synod, who had hitherto shown but little disposition to proceed to action.

3. At the meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury, November 27, 1847, to vote the address, a rather fulsome paragraph, which thanked her Majesty that, following the example of her predecessors, she had done so much for the Church, was objected to by a member, who asked what her Majesty’s predecessors had done for the Church. He

¹ Warren’s *Synodalia*, p. 2.

² *The Church’s Self-regulating Privilege*, by John Kempthorne, B.D. (1835), p. 11.

³ See Chap. XIII.

thought the Church had not much to thank them for, and that such ill-grounded compliments did more harm than good. Nor could he conscientiously agree in the expression that the "powers of the Crown were in all cases exercised impartially and constitutionally" so long as the synods of the Church of England were not permitted to meet. Not that he blamed the Sovereign for this, for he believed that the royal license would not be refused if the houses of Convocation and the Church in general petitioned for it. Another member expressed the conviction that, though according to the letter of the law the Sovereign had the power to prorogue Convocation from time to time, yet it never was intended that this power should be exercised so as to prevent the Church's synod from consulting about the Church's welfare. An archdeacon moved the insertion of a paragraph thanking her Majesty for the preservation of the ancient See of St. Asaph, and for the establishment of the bishopric of Manchester.¹ All agreed to this. But a sentence which spoke of "our Church as having sent forth chief pastors into distant lands" was objected to, because Convocation, which is the Church of England by representation, had had no voice in the matter. Another speaker strongly denounced the appointment to the See of Hereford of a divine lying under the censure of the University of Oxford; but it was prudently pointed out that this was a dangerous subject to enter upon, if the Convocation was about to petition for leave to proceed to business. To the very tame paragraph in the address sent down from the Upper House that, "if at any time it should be her Majesty's pleasure to require the advice of this synod in devising means for increasing the efficiency of the Church,

¹ The first Act to carry out the Ecclesiastical Commissioners' recommendations (1836) recommended the establishment of the Sees of Ripon and Manchester, but at the cost of two ancient Welsh Sees. Happily public opinion became strongly set against the scheme before the vacancies occurred, and on the vacancy of St. Asaph in 1846 Dr. Bethel, Bishop of Bangor, refused to take the See. Upon this the plan was abandoned. Dr. Short was made Bishop of St. Asaph, and a new Act for Manchester was passed, Dr. Prince Lee becoming the first bishop in 1848.

it would be our humble endeavour to conduct our deliberations with moderation and prudence," an amendment was moved. The amendment set forth that "the feeling that Convocation should be allowed to consult upon Church matters was daily increasing. All other religious bodies had their deliberative meetings. We therefore earnestly pray that her Majesty would graciously condescend to grant her license for us to act." Another amendment was proposed, praying "that no alterations might be made in the rights and privileges of the Church without consent of Convocation." Both these amendments were lost by small majorities. It was then agreed that the words "as we earnestly pray" should be inserted after the words "the advice of this synod," and the proceedings in the Lower House terminated. The bishops accepted the amendment, and the address was finally presented, containing an "earnest prayer" that her Majesty would require the advice of the synod.

4. A beginning of synodal action was thus made by the discussion of and amendments on the address. But as yet the many writers, who advocated the revival of Convocation, did so with a very imperfect knowledge of the subject which they were handling. It was universally thought that the Convocation required a special royal license before it could take any matter into consideration, except the address to the Crown. Thus all the pleas for the revival of the Convocation were constructed on the principle that the State was opposing some great obstacle to synodal discussions which it ought to remove. A fuller acquaintance with the subject showed that this was not the case. No legal bar hindered the synod, duly summoned and constituted, from entering upon discussions. Only an evil custom which had long prevailed, and the timidity of the presidents, had hindered this. Of course the Crown might interfere to direct the prorogation, but its license was not needed for the initiation of proceedings. Again, in all the arguments for the revival of Convocation may be traced a confusion between the ancient provincial synods and the parliamentary summons of the clergy under Edward I. by the *præmunientes* clause in the bishops' writs. As

Atterbury, who was regarded as the great authority for the history of Convocation, had made the same confusion, this is not to be wondered at. But it greatly affected the force of the argument for the revival of Convocation. For if this body owed its origin to Edward I., and was called into action for State purposes, and if its ecclesiastical character was only a secondary application, it was thus made to rest unduly upon the will of the State, and was not shown to be, as it truly was, an ancient and undoubted right, inherent in the Church, and only withheld from her by negligence or tyranny. The body summoned under the *præmunientes* clause differed totally from the ancient synods or convocations of the English Church. It had never, or scarcely ever, acted; it had quickly died away, though still surviving in name, and its history did not essentially affect the continuous synodal action of the Church. It was, therefore, in all ways, most desirable both for the thorough ventilating and investigating the subject, as well as for pressing it on to practical results, that a distinct organisation should be constructed, whose sole object should be "to obtain for the Church of England, through the existing Convocation, the full and free exercise of her synodal powers, by the exclusive employment of legal and constitutional means."¹

5. A society with this object was formed in London in the autumn of the year 1850, under the name of the Society for the Revival of Convocation. The Society consisted of both clergy and laity. The chairman of council was the Rev. J. B. Clarke, of Bagborough, Somerset. The chairman of the executive committee was Henry Hoare, Esq.; and the honorary secretary Gillett Ottaway, Esq. Among the earnest Churchmen who laboured in this important matter, the untiring zeal, diligence, and vigour of Mr. Hoare were especially conspicuous. The great object of the Society was to stir up public opinion by meetings, publications, and addresses, and to obtain expression of this opinion by petitions addressed to the houses of Convocation.

6. The effects of the movement soon began to be practically felt. On July 11, 1851, an important debate

¹ Statement.—Society for Revival of Convocation.

took place in the House of Lords. Lord Redesdale moved for a copy of a petition of the clergy and laity of the province of Canterbury presented to both houses of Convocation on February 5, 1851. In an able speech he pointed out the danger to which the Church was exposed by the strife of parties. "Quiet moderate men would not go upon the platform; it was contrary to their principles and feelings; and all that came before the public on the subject of the Church was in the hands of extreme parties; and so an impression had gradually grown up, which was really unfounded, that those parties really represented the feeling and condition of the Church, and that the divisions in the Church were as great, as numerous, and as decided, as they were represented to be by those extreme parties. He believed the reverse of this to be the case, and that great numbers of those who believed that there was now serious diversity of opinion, if they could be brought together in an assembly in which they would have a right to speak and vote, with power of action upon the subject, would find their difficulties and differences far less than they supposed. Unless this were done—unless by means of Convocation the Church herself were enabled to speak, her representation would remain in the hands of these unauthorised parties who were ready to speak violently in one extreme or the other." He then examined, and very ably met, the objections urged against Convocation. If its constitution was faulty, "that body itself must change it; it was impossible for other bodies to do it." He did not believe that in the discussions the heat would be at all equal to that which was displayed in parliamentary debates, nor that the bitterness towards dissenters would be increased. He believed that, so far from Romanising practices being encouraged by Convocation, there could be no surer way of putting them down than by giving to the Church free action. He then enumerated the evils which had happened through the suppression of Convocation. The Church had been paralysed when great opportunities existed for advance, as in the case of John Wesley's movement, and in the late Oxford movement. He believed "in the high mission of the Church of

England," but for her work to be done it was necessary that she should have the power of free action. This admirable speech was answered by the Primate in a feeble and timid oration, in which he dwelt upon the dangers likely to ensue from the meeting of Convocation, and endeavoured to minimise its action in the past by historical statements not remarkable for their accuracy. Lord Lyttleton followed, and said, "That that body ought to meet seems to me self-evident, except on the assumption, seldom explicitly avowed, but often, as it seems to me, involved in reasonings on this subject, that the Church is *not an organic body at all, but a mere function and creation of the State.*" Against this idea he protested, and proceeded to argue with great power in favour of the restoration of Church action. "The most obvious and popular objection to the restoration of the action of the Church is that it would not tend to the peace of the Church. My lords, peace is good; but truth and life and freedom are better still. You have had peace. You had peace last century—the peace of a lethargic slumber—a peace during which, as has been said, the Church suffered more in external losses and inward decay and degeneration than during any other period of her history. Have you got peace now? Have you any chance of peace? You will never have peace till, in some measure, the free action of the Church is restored." After some eccentric remarks by the Archbishop of Dublin, and a long oration from the Duke of Argyll, the Bishop of London said plainly that "great as the difficulties were, the growing difficulties which embarrassed the Church for want of such a representation were still greater. Recent events had made him feel strongly the want of such a body, combining all classes in the Church, being permitted to assemble. The time was not far distant when those who were entrusted with the diocesan government of the Church would not know to what hand to turn for counsel and direction in the coming emergencies. On the whole, therefore, he could have no hesitation in saying that there ought to be a representative body of the members of the Church to whom its government should be entrusted." Earl Nelson advocated the

restoration of Convocation, and Lord Lansdowne, a member of the Government, opposed, in a speech full of misrepresentations. This brought up the Bishop of Oxford, who, in a splendid speech, demolished the fallacies which were put forward to hinder the action of the Church, and bore a noble testimony to her divine character and inalienable rights.¹ This discussion did much to advance the cause of the restoration of synodical action. The Report of the Metropolitan Church Union says: "The strength of the argument was decidedly on the side of Convocation. The objections urged against it were so completely and triumphantly answered that the effect of the debate on the mind of Parliament and on public opinion cannot be otherwise than favourable."² On the 5th February following, at a meeting of Convocation for the purpose of receiving the address from the Lower House, the Bishop of Oxford moved for a petition to the Crown for license for the clergy to discuss a Clergy Discipline Bill. This was declared by Sir John Dodson, the vicar-general, to be illegal, the clergy, in his view, having no power to act unless first authorised by the Crown, and Convocation was prorogued.³

7. After this it occurred to some Churchmen, anxious to bring about the action of Convocation, and especially to Bishop Wilberforce, to ascertain more exactly what was the real bar to such action, and whether the consent of the Crown, given in any formal way, was in fact needed for its deliberations to begin. Had not Churchmen all this time been setting up a bugbear which in reality had no existence, but which was formed by their own timidity and want of right understanding of the subject? Why should not Convocation, which was duly summoned, constituted, and assembled, proceed to deliberate and act? What was there to hinder it doing what it pleased, save only the making and promulging of canons? Certainly the State might interfere to stop its legitimate action, or it might have a timid and uncongenial president, who at the first attempt at action might prorogue it; but could not even

¹ Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. cxviii.

² "Report of Metropolitan Church Union," p. 6.

³ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 138.

this be hindered, if it was the case, as many thought that it was, that the president had no power to prorogue, except with the consent of his suffragans. It was determined to obtain upon these points the best legal opinions that could be procured; and accordingly a *case* was submitted to Dr. Phillimore, Sir F. Thesiger, the attorney-general, and Sir W. Page Wood.

8. The answers of these learned lawyers must have not a little astonished some who had been long almost inclined to despair of the revival of Convocation on account of the presumed necessity of a State license before it could act, and the supposed unwillingness of the State authorities to allow it to act. "I am of opinion," says Dr. Phillimore, "that when Convocation has been duly summoned and convened, it may lawfully proceed to deliberate upon, and transact any business, for the deliberation upon, and transaction of which, the assent and license of the Crown is not rendered previously necessary by the statute 25 Henry VIII., c. 19; that royal assent and license is a necessary preliminary to the discussion¹ of any new canon, constitution, or ordinance, provincial or synodal. I do not find any other limitation upon the powers of Convocation imposed by that statute, and I am not aware of any further restraint which is laid upon them by any other statute." To the second point Dr. Phillimore distinctly denies the power of the archbishop to prorogue without the consent of his suffragans. Sir F. Thesiger concurred in both these opinions. Sir W. Page Wood held that Convocation was not competent to debate upon or to promulge canons without the royal license, but that it can consider "any address to the Crown for license of debate, or *any other like matter*, without its members incurring the penalties of the Act." With regard to the second point, he held that the archbishop could prorogue by his sole authority. These opinions distinctly showed that if Convocation were silent, it was silent by its own act, and not from any special bar of legal authority which must be removed before it could speak. Two of them also

¹ It is now known that the royal license is not necessary for the *discussion* of a canon, but only to its being *promulged*.

indicated a method by which a president's timidity or ready subservience to external influences, which might lead him to prorogue the assembly prematurely, might be met—namely, by the refusal of his suffragans to consent to the prorogation. Thus the hopes of those who desired to see the synods again in action were at their highest pitch.

9. Meantime, through the action of the Society for the Revival of Convocation, and the Church Unions, it had become generally believed that the action of Convocation was not far distant; and the elections of proctors, which took place in the summer of 1852, concurrently with the elections for the new Parliament, were everywhere watched with keen interest. A vast array of petitions was also being prepared, ready to be poured in upon the Convocations at their meeting. The friends of the Church were in high spirits, and its adversaries were proportionately alarmed. On the 17th October the *Times* announced in an article, meant to be very startling, that the new premier, Lord Derby, and his colleagues, had resolved to advise her Majesty to permit the House of Convocation in the province of Canterbury to sit for the despatch of business. It professes itself unprepared for so rash and abrupt a measure, so perilous to the Church of England, and inimical to the order and tranquillity of society. The attempt for Convocation had proceeded, it says, from the extreme High Church party, and not from the Church of England at large. The election of proctors was described as having been conducted with a kind of mock solemnity, while the whole constitution of these ecclesiastical assemblies was such that to set it in motion would be the wildest freak a modern statesman could commit. The most insulting language is then applied to Convocation and the clergy, and Mr. Hallam's oft-quoted contemptuous words are once more repeated. The *Globe* was still more violent, railing against Lord Derby and the clergy; but it was well remarked that the attack was "singularly infelicitous." "In the first place, there was no foundation whatever for the report so vividly enunciated that Lord Derby had recommended her Majesty that Convocation should proceed to the despatch of business; and in the

second place, Convocation was perfectly competent to transact business without Lord Derby being at all concerned in the matter, or without any further license from the Crown than the ordinary writs, issued as a matter of routine, have always granted.”¹ When it was discovered by the explicit denial of the *Morning Herald* that ministers had taken no action in the matter, public opinion was somewhat tranquillised ; but it was further excited by the violent addresses at a meeting held at Fishmongers’ Hall, and presided over by Lord Shaftesbury, which denounced any attempt to revive Convocation.²

10. Nevertheless the synod of the province of Canterbury met in full force at St. Paul’s Cathedral on the day appointed, November 5, 1852. The cathedral was in a state of the greatest confusion through the preparations for the Duke of Wellington’s funeral ; but “the first glance of the assembled party, when standing under the dome, was enough to show that Convocation had mustered in large force. Deans, archdeacons, and proctors glided about full of mutual recognition and inquiries ; and this whole group, set off by the picturesque effect of full canonical costume, presented a curious and suggestive scene. We saw a highly-educated and ecclesiastical-looking collection of men. They looked like what they were, and the sight gave strength and reality to our convictions that Convocation had met for business. From the dome a movement was made towards the morning chapel at the north-west corner of the cathedral. Here the bishops assembled in their red chimeres, and were shortly summoned to the west door to receive the Archbishop of Canterbury. The procession, which forthwith commenced towards the choir of the cathedral, was a wonderful phenomenon. Here was the Church of England by representation in its most stately

¹ “Convocation in November 1852” (*The Christian Remembrancer*, December 1852), p. 143.

² Lord Shaftesbury, with his usual inability to understand the Church, persisted in maintaining that the Convocation of to-day must necessarily be of the same spirit as the body silenced in 1717, and also that it would be sure to encourage confession !! He repeated once more Mr. Hallam’s insolent words.—*Life of Lord Shaftesbury*, ii. 403.

costume. There followed in the rear, as the climax of honour, the archbishop himself, with his long scarlet train borne by an attendant. All marked to a thoughtful eye the ecclesiastical majesty of Lambeth, which enjoys a longer pedigree and a more uninterrupted history than any temporal throne or dynasty in Europe."¹ The Latin Service, the formalities attending the choice of a prolocutor by the Lower House, are then described. Dr. Peacock, Dean of Ely, was chosen prolocutor, and the Convocation was prorogued to the 12th November in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

11. During the week between the opening of the Convocation in St. Paul's and its meeting at Westminster, the friends of Convocation were busily employed in devising the best means for ensuring the action of the synod when it should be properly constituted and assembled. It was agreed that, as there could be no doubt of the right of Convocation to discuss *gravamina et reformanda*, a paper containing these should be drawn up, and leave sought from the Upper House to discuss it. When the day arrived both Houses assembled in great force. There were sixteen bishops present and about ninety members of the Lower House. The bishops sat in the library of the Deanery, the Lower House in the Jerusalem Chamber. A large number of petitions praying for the action of Convocation² and other matters were presented. In the Lower House the Archdeacon of Maidstone moved—"That the Lower House of Convocation begged respectfully to state to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to his right reverend brethren, that important representations on matters at present affecting the welfare of the Church, and conformably to the former usages of Convocation, had been introduced into the Lower House; that the House proposed to refer them to a committee; and that the House thereby respectfully invited his Grace and his right reverend brethren so to order the prorogations and continuations of the Convocation as to allow the House to

¹ "Convocation in November 1852," p. 158.

² 74 petitions for the revival of Convocation, 4 against.—*Synodalia*, p. 119.

receive in due time the report of such committee, and to take it into consideration." This was seconded by Dr. Spry, proctor for London diocese, and carried.¹ Meantime, in the Upper House, the friends of Convocation were equally busy. The Bishop of Oxford moved an amendment to the address proposed by the archbishop. He said that if, at a time when every class of society proved itself sensibly alive to its responsibilities, the clergy alone were determined to sit still and to lie asleep, they must expect that such sleep would not long be permitted to remain undisturbed, for the activity and honesty of this practical age would consider it akin to the sleep of death. The bishop then dwelt on the special nature of the Church as a divine institution, entrusted with a divine mission and with corporate privileges; and he observed that, if the heads of the Church of England continued ignorant or careless of their responsibilities, a severe reckoning was at hand. These were days, he said, in which discussion could not be stopped, and it was better to do that regularly which would else be done irregularly—it was better to call up the proper conciliar action of the Church than to permit mere popular agitation on religious matters to take its place. He then declared that he had taken the highest legal opinion as to whether there was any law in existence which precluded Convocation from considering any matters connected with the well-ordering and advancement of the Church, and from taking any steps in such matters, short of actually making or debating canons; and their opinions were unanimous and decisive in favour of the entire freedom and liberty of discussion already possessed by Convocation. He therefore proposed the insertion in the address of a clause stating that Convocation was about to appoint committees for the purpose of considering a proper scheme for the correction of offences committed by the clergy against the ecclesiastical laws. This would include a court of appeal, and, when the committees should have finished their labours, he proposed that Convocation should again address the Crown, stating the result of its deliberations, and praying her Majesty to direct her ministers to

¹ *Synodalia*, p. 119.

bring in a Bill founded on the representations of Convocation.¹ The archbishop, overwhelmed by the boldness of this proposal, and unable to answer the eloquent oration of Bishop Wilberforce, agreed to prorogue the House for the further consideration of the subject to Tuesday next, November 16.

12. On this day the work of the synod was continued. In the Upper House the debate on the address was resumed. The clause proposed by the Bishop of Oxford was withdrawn in favour of one proposed by the Bishop of Salisbury,² which said—"We think it our duty respectfully to express our conviction both that its legislative assemblies are an essential and most important part of the constitution of our Reformed Church, and that the circumstances of the present day make it alike more imperative to preserve, and, as far as possible, to improve them; and more particularly, that the resumption of their active functions in such a manner as your Majesty, by your royal license, may permit, may at no distant date be productive of much advantage." The amendment then meets and repudiates some of the objections urged against Convocation, and, in view of the recent Romish aggression,³ expresses great value for the supremacy "as it was maintained in ancient times against the usurpation of the See of Rome, and recovered and reasserted at the time of the Reformation." The amendment was supported in a splendid speech by the Bishop of Exeter, who took occasion to say that the highest legal authority in the land had said to him—"So long as you keep from either framing canons or consulting to make canons, there is nothing in law which can restrain you from deliberating. It is mere folly to think differently; no lawyer would dare to give you such an opinion."⁴ The amendment was accepted, as was also a clause moved by the Bishop of Oxford, "solemnly protesting in the face of Christendom" against the fresh

¹ From the report in *Morning Chronicle*.

² "Our own impression in reading this speech was that every line added an untold weight to the cause of Convocation, and confirmed it as with an iron grasp."—"Convocation in November 1852," p. 170.

³ See Chap. XVII.

⁴ "Convocation in November 1852," p. 173.

aggression of the See of Rome, "thereby denying the existence of that branch of the Catholic Church which has so long been established in this land." A committee was appointed to consider the subject of clergy discipline. In the Lower House a committee for considering grievances was appointed, and the appointment and the names of the committee were carried by the prolocutor to the Upper House. Some other discussions followed.

13. On Wednesday, November 17, another session was held. The prolocutor brought up the address slightly amended by the Lower House. This, after another addition, was agreed to. The committee appointed to consider the subject of the correction of clerks was ordered to draft a petition; and the Lower House was directed to appoint members to serve on it conjointly with the bishops. The archbishop had given no answer as regards the committee appointed by the Lower House to consider *gravamina*, and the prolocutor intimated that its operations must depend on his Grace's pleasure. The archbishop prorogued the Convocation to February 16, 1853, and a protest against this, as done without the consent of his suffragans, was made by the bishops of Oxford, Salisbury, Chichester, and St. David's.

14. The action of the Canterbury Convocation was thus, in fact, restored. There had been discussions, motions, and voting; the appointment of committees, whose work would be done in the intervals between the sessions; communications in due form between the Upper and Lower Houses. The old machinery, which had been unused for 135 years, mainly, it must be confessed, through the carelessness and want of information of the clergy themselves, was again put in motion. That the Crown had long ago violently interfered to dismiss the Convocation, and that there had never been since then any desire or encouragement on the part of the State for the clergy to meet in their synods, constituted, in fact, the whole of the obstruction which had so long prevented the action of Convocation. It was, however, almost universally believed, both by the clergy themselves and by those who had the guidance of affairs, that the Convocation, though called together

at intervals, had no power to enter upon the discussion of anything but the address without the royal license. Inasmuch as many of the clergy, most of the bishops, and almost all the laity thought this mute state of the Church a probable advantage, but little attempt was made to get rid of it until the reviving life of the Church made it intolerable to the most earnest of her children. Then the most distinguished of these—a man who united in himself the most acute brain, the most persuasive tongue, and the greatest power of work and organisation of any in his day,—taking the matter seriously in hand, saw the unsubstantial character of the barrier which prevented the Church from raising her voice; and, arming himself with sound legal opinions, assailed and overthrew it. The revival of the active life of Convocation is distinctly due to Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. It was extorted from an unwilling Primate—an amiable prelate, whose sympathies were not with Church action, and who had not emancipated himself from the fear of the high and low factions, such as those which squabbled through the reign of Queen Anne. His apprehensions were shared by many. Most of the public prints were divided in their comments between expressions of the most utter contempt, and prophecies of the most terrible mischiefs from the wars of contentious bigots. These prophecies have been utterly falsified. The harmony of the Convocations, which have now sat and acted for many years, has never been disturbed. It would be hard to find in the recorded deliberations of those bodies any proofs of party spirit, personal bitterness, or objectionable bigotry. That their work has not been in vain an extract from one of the latest reports of the Canterbury Convocation will show.¹

15. Affairs did not proceed so rapidly in the province of York as in that of Canterbury. The Convocation was opened by commission on November 5. The archbishop not being present, the other bishops who had arrived did not consider it etiquette to appear. There was a very large attendance of the lower clergy. Formal proceedings being over, Canon Trevor presented petitions and protests

¹ See Notes and Illustrations to this chapter.

addressed to the archbishop on the subject of irregular elections, and also a petition addressed to Convocation urging the discharge of its active functions. He was allowed to read the heads of it, but not to enter upon any discussion. Other petitions and protests followed, and proceedings terminated by the presiding commissioners pronouncing absentees contumacious, and declaring the Convocation to be continued and prorogued until May 18, 1853. The northern Primate was even more slack and backward than his brother of Canterbury, and there was no Wilberforce or Philpotts among his suffragans. Nevertheless it was held "that the cause of the Church's synodal rights and duties had made rapid strides in the northern as well as the southern province. The attendance of proctors was thrice as numerous as on the last similar occasion. Numerous petitions, and many of them numerously signed, were presented in favour of a revival of Convocation in some fair and efficient form, and not one was introduced against it."¹ It is evident that York was on the high road to action as well as Canterbury.

¹ *Guardian*.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

WORK DONE BY CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY.

The following may be mentioned as some of the matters on which the Convocation of Canterbury has earnestly—and, in many cases, successfully—advocated reform:—Clergy Pensions, Clergy Discipline, Cathedral Chapters, Appointments to Bishoprics, Resignation and Exchange of Benefices, Reform of Convocation, Lay Co-operation, Sequestration for Debt, Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer,

Methods of reaching the Masses, Revision of the Canons, Church Patronage, Ecclesiastical Fees, Spiritual Provision for Soldiers and Sailors, Table of Lessons, The Revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, Act of Uniformity Amendment, First Fruits and Tenths, The Diaconate and Employment of Lay Agency, Relations of Church and State, Pluralities Acts, Hours of Divine Service, Cemetery Fees, Law of Marriage, Temperance, Penitentiaries, etc.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PAPAL AGGRESSION—RITUALISM

1850-1854

1. The Papal aggression. 2. Violent excitement caused by it. 3. Dr. Wiseman's attack on the Chapter of Westminster. 4. Church feeling against retaliating measures. 5. Lord John Russell's attack on Ritualism. 6. The growth of Ritualism and "high" doctrine. 7. Bishop Blomfield endeavours to check ritual at St. Barnabas. 8. Calls on Mr. Bennett to resign. 9. The joint pastoral of the bishops. 10. Suits instituted against Mr. Bennett's successor. 11. Judgment of Dr. Lushington. 12. Judgment of Privy Council (1) as to crosses. 13. (2) As to stone altars. 14. (3) As to credence tables. 15. (4) As to altar cloths. 16. Effects of the judgment.

1. IN the session of Convocation of February 17, 1852, a clause moved by the Bishop of Oxford was inserted in the address to the Crown, to protest against "that fresh aggression of the Bishop of Rome, by which he has arrogated to himself the spiritual charge of this nation, thereby denying the existence of that branch of the Church Catholic which was planted in Britain in the primitive ages of Christianity, and has been preserved by a merciful Providence unto this day."¹ This "fresh aggression" had been made by the promulgation, in October 1850, of a Papal Bull, which had, it is said, been prepared for three years, and which professed to create a new archbishopric of Westminster, and to divide the whole of England into twelve dioceses, to be governed by twelve diocesan prelates of the Pope's appointing.

2. This measure could not, of course, really affect the position of the ancient Church of the land; yet the fact of this alien bishop issuing a bull to regulate England, couched as

¹ See Chap. XVI.

it was in the most insulting terms,¹ naturally created a very violent excitement. "If these things," wrote the leading journal, "have any signification at all beyond an idle distribution of spurious titles, they mean that the Pope conceives that he can, in the nineteenth century, resume and exercise the direct spiritual government within this realm of a considerable portion of the Queen's subjects, and that by means of a regularly established hierarchy, accountable to Rome only for its actions, he can divide with the Crown the allegiance of our fellow-countrymen. . . . Is it here, in Westminster, among ourselves, and by the English throne, that an Italian priest is to parcel out the spiritual dominion of this country, to employ the renegades of our national Church to restore a foreign usurpation over the consciences of men, and to sow division in our political society by an undisguised and systematic hostility to the institutions most nearly identified with our national freedom and our national faith? Such an intention must be either ludicrous or intolerable, either a delusion of some fanatical brain or treason to the Constitution." The note thus struck was taken up with an instant and overwhelming intensity. The pastoral of the new archbishop, dated from "the Flaminian Gate," and professing to restore "Catholic England to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament," greatly stimulated the excitement. "An agitation," writes the cardinal archbishop, "perhaps unparalleled in our times, has been raised by the constitution of a Catholic hierarchy in these islands. Its violence has been that of a whirlwind, during which it would have been almost folly to claim a hearing. The storm burst with absolute fury; every newspaper seemed to vie with its neighbour of most opposite politics and principles, in the acrimony, virulence, and perseverance of its attacks. The energies of all seemed concentrated upon one single point—that of crushing, if possible, or denouncing, at least, to public execration, the new form

¹ "I will not say that there was a deliberate intention to insult, by the act done, the feelings of Englishmen; but it would not, I think, be difficult to show, from an examination of the documents, that expressions have been used with a view to sting."—Mr. Gladstone, March 25, 1857.

of ecclesiastical government, which Catholics regarded as a blessing and an honour.”¹ The excitement had been led by a letter from the Premier (Lord John Russell) to the Bishop of Durham, in which he designated the act of the Pope as “insolent and insidious,” and declared that measures would at once be taken against it. The Lord Chancellor denounced the illegality of the proceeding at the Mansion House banquet; the clergy, the lawyers, all classes and conditions of men, signed addresses protesting against it.

3. The Romanist advocates, startled and amazed at the strength of the feeling evoked, put forth explanations of the proceeding, which endeavoured to show that it was simply a change in ecclesiastical organisation of no particular importance,—that the Romanists in England had outgrown the old provision of vicars-apostolic; that the change in the laws effected by the Catholic Emancipation Act made the scheme perfectly legal and feasible; that no invasion of any one’s rights was intended; and that the outcry was eminently unreasonable. Unfortunately the able defender of the scheme could not content himself with these and similar topics, but mingled with his defence sneers, insinuations, and reproaches against the Anglican clergy, and especially against the Chapter of Westminster, which had been the first clerical body to protest against the aggression. Speaking of the great Abbey, he says—“This splendid monument, its treasures of art and its fitting endowments, form not the part of Westminster which will concern me. Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts and alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity, and crime, as well as of squalor, wretchedness and disease, in which swarms a great and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally at least, Catholic. This is the part of Westminster which alone I covet. If the wealth of the Abbey be stagnant and not diffusive, if it in no way rescue the neighbouring population from the depths in which it is sunk, let there be no jealousy of any one, who, by whatever name, is ready to make the latter his care,

¹ “Appeal to the English People,” by Cardinal Wiseman, p. 7.

without interfering with the former." The rhetorical cardinal had in this instance somewhat miscalculated his data. It was immediately shown by "a Westminster layman" (Sir W. Page Wood) that, so far from the wealth of the Chapter being "stagnant and not diffusive," the Chapter had for the past ten years contributed at the rate of £8000 a year to the spiritual needs of the district; that the number of churches had been raised from three to nine; that there were nine church schools at work, and twenty clergymen; that one member of the Chapter had built a church at his own sole expense, and that a spiritual aid fund amounting to £20,000 had been established, largely aided by the Chapter. In opposition to this it was pointed out that the work done by the Romanists in their new archbishopric consisted in establishing one small school for boys and one other for girls, fifty of each being the largest number ever found there. The other dissenters had done far more. The clergy had twice called the attention of wealthy Romanists to the miserable state in which the Romanist Irish were left, but without success. The mendaciousness of the cardinal's insinuation was only equalled by its audacity, as any one who had visited the squalid misery of the Roman slums could testify.¹

4. The violent outburst of Protestant feeling caused by the Papal scheme was in no way specially beneficial to the English Church. Rather it tended to throw back and prejudice the advance of sound Church principles. It brought out indeed into strong relief the unnational and exotic character of that strange compound which passed for Christianity with some weak-minded Englishmen. But English Churchmen had long ago shown this in its true colours, and no new strength was added to the argument by the fierce outcries evoked. Thus, when the Premier brought in his feeble Bill in the House of Commons, Church feeling was in reality against the measure. Not that it condoned the insult thus offered to the English Church, but that it repudiated this method of meeting it. In his famous speech against the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill Mr. Gladstone expressed the prevailing Church sentiment when

¹ *Fact and Fiction*, by a Westminster Layman, pp. 9, 10.

he said : "The recent measure of the Pope is certainly a measure aimed at the Church of England. Am I on that ground to legislate against it? Certainly not. Here once for all I enter my most solemn, earnest and deliberate protest against all attempts to meet the spiritual dangers of the Church by temporal legislation of a penal character. . . . I confess it wounds me as a member of the English Church to see this rival hierarchy spread over the land. It appears to me perfectly right and legitimate for the clergy of the Church of England, in an ecclesiastical sense, to make their protests. With their protests I sympathise. Such protests, if consulted, I should have advised, but I would have entreated them to beware of calling in the secular arm."¹ It was on this ground that the Bishop of Oxford procured the protest of the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation. But that even this was held to be unnecessary by many of the clergy was shown by the fact that, when Mr. Massingberd desired to obtain a similar protest from the Lower House, it was declined.

5. The excitement, however, did not pass away without producing considerable mischief to the Church revival. In his letter to the Bishop of Durham, in which he inveighs against the Papal aggression, Lord John Russell had said :—"There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign. Clergymen of our own Church who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks step by step to the very verge of the precipice. The honour paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the Church, the superstitious use of the sign of the Cross, the muttering of the Liturgy, so as to disguise the language in which it was written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution,—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power compared

¹ "Speech of Mr. Gladstone," March 25, 1851, pp. 4-18.

to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself? I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course. But I rely with confidence on the people of England; and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by a nation, which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul."

6. It was true that the Bishop of London, as well as other bishops, had in their charges found fault with some of the practices censured in the Prime Minister's letter. The higher views of the Church, mainly due to the teaching of the Oxford school, had found expression in Church services, removed as far as possible from the old careless and puritanical character. Congregations had been taught that nothing could be too costly, too beautiful, too elaborate, for the House of God; that the "Ornaments" of the Church and of the ministers should be of the richest description, and should revert to the pattern of mediæval times before the iconoclastic tenets of the Reformation. Music, art, needlework, and sculpture, were called upon to do their utmost for the beauty and worship of the sanctuary, and the services of the Church of England, which had long been remarkable for their plainness, suddenly in many churches became *histrionic*,¹ appealing to the senses, and affecting an external pomp and show. Together with this transformation of the outward form came a still more marked change in the inward spirit of the teaching. The importance of the sacraments was now magnified to the utmost possible extent; the priestly power and office were much put forward; confession and absolution were strongly recommended to the faithful; the use of the crucifix and of the sign of the Cross, of prayers for the dead, and of the devout and significant observation of saints' days, became habitual. If to this is added some affectation in the outward habits, dress, and tone of the clergy who

¹ This was Bishop Blomfield's word for describing these services.

favoured these views, it may easily be understood how the liveliest alarm might be excited, on the one hand, in the Puritanical section of the Church, and, on the other, among the careless livers and free thinkers who objected to any new development of definite religion. There was no doubt a great lack of prudence and some folly in those who favoured these views. While converts were continually falling off to the Church of Rome, they still ostentatiously used and recommended Romish books of devotion, and practised other eccentricities savouring of Rome. The remonstrances of bishops were but of little avail. "I have been told," says Bishop Blomfield, "that I had no authority to forbid anything which was not in express terms forbidden by law ; and that practices which, though purposely laid aside by the Church, and so by implication condemned, have not been actually prohibited, are therefore lawful ; and that canonical obedience to a bishop is only that which he can enforce in a court of law ; and so the innovations which I objected to have been persisted in, with additional changes from time to time, with the manifest purpose of assimilating the services of our Reformed Church as nearly as possible to those of the Roman."¹

7. The first conspicuous collision between the clergy of the new school and authority took place in the case of the Rev. W. J. Bennett of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. Mr. Bennett, a very able man, and remarkable as a preacher, had gathered an attached congregation at St. Paul's, which he had taught to value high sacramental doctrine and the elaborate accessories of worship. Impressing upon a rich auditory the duty and privilege of giving freely of their substance for the advancement of God's Church, Mr. Bennett had raised funds sufficient to build a beautiful new church in his parish, dedicated to St. Barnabas, together with schools and other accessories. This was consecrated by Bishop Blomfield on St. Barnabas's day, June 11, 1850. At the entertainment after the consecration the bishop eulogised, as well he might, the zeal and liberality of Mr. Bennett, and nothing was said to mar the festive character of the occasion, though the ritual used in St. Paul's had on

¹ *Life of Bishop Blomfield*, ii. 145.

several previous occasions called forth the bishop's remonstrances. But the ritual of St. Barnabas soon began to eclipse that of the mother church, and the bishop felt himself called upon to interfere, pressed as he was by the violent attacks of the more "Protestant" portion of the press.

8. Mr. Bennett declined to yield. He abandoned, indeed, some of the practices censured by the bishop, but he claimed to regulate his ritual by three principles. (1.) By using whatever was practised in other churches and not forbidden by the bishop. (2.) By retaining whatever had been done in the bishop's presence at the consecration of the church. (3.) By adopting whatever he could find practised in any of the English cathedrals.¹ In the meantime the populace, excited by the denunciations in the newspapers, were constantly committing the most disgraceful outrages at St. Barnabas's Church, interrupting the services by groaning and hooting, and mobbing and assaulting the clergy.² Mr. Bennett was not of a temper to yield to mob violence, and it is probable that these attacks only made him more determined to persevere in what he held to be right. The Bishop of London was in a difficult position, and perhaps the way by which he sought to extricate himself from it was a little undignified. Mr. Bennett had, previously to these outrages, offered to resign his living if the bishop thought it for the good of the Church that he should do so, and the bishop now called upon him to fulfil his promise. This he did, and in March 1851 retired from his charge in London, to the great regret and sorrow of a large portion of his parishioners.

9. The great question raised in these disputes was one of the utmost importance for the determination of the future ritual of the Church of England. It was this. Was omission equivalent to prohibition? Did the fact of a ceremony or ornament, formerly used in the Church, not being mentioned in the Prayer Book, constitute a prohibition of that ceremony or ornament, or were the clergy at

¹ *Life of Bishop Blomfield*, ii. 140.

² These riotous proceedings were far outdone by those which took place a few years afterwards at St. George's-in-the-East.

liberty to introduce into their services and churches any such ceremony or ornament which was not in terms forbidden? Mr. Bennett and others contended for this latter view. The general opinion of Churchmen was opposed to it. The *Guardian* wrote: "Mr. Bennett's claim to regulate the ritual of his Church as he pleased, in matters on which the law is silent, without sanction, and even in defiance of his bishop, is altogether unprecedented and untenable." It was evident that on this point there must be before long a legal decision, otherwise the utmost confusion would continue to prevail. The bishops made an attempt to regulate the matter by a joint pastoral, which they issued on March 29, 1851. After earnestly recommending caution and discretion in the introduction of any ritual changes, and laying down certain principles for the guidance of the clergy, this document went on: "But beyond mere attempts to restore an unusual strictness of ritual observance, we have to deal with a distinct and serious evil. A principle has of late been avowed and acted on which, if admitted, would justify far greater and more uncertain changes. It is this: That as the Church of England is the ancient Catholic Church, settled in this land before the Reformation, and was then reformed only by the casting away of certain strictly defined corruption; therefore whatever form or usage existed in the Church before the Reformation may now be freely introduced and observed, unless there can be alleged against it the distinct letter of some formal prohibition. Against any such inference from the undoubted identity of the Church before and after the Reformation, we feel bound to enter our clear and unhesitating protest."

10. Mr. Bennett's successor at St. Paul's was the Rev. Robert Liddell, and though some of the ritual at St. Barnabas had been modified, yet enough remained to excite the angry feelings of those who held that all external beauty of worship was objectionable, from some supposed necessary connection of it with Popery. Accordingly some little time after the appointment of Mr. Liddell, two suits were instituted in the Consistory Court of London. One of the churchwardens of St. Paul's, Mr. Westerton, pro-

ceeded against the incumbent, praying for a faculty for the removal of "the high altar, with the cross elevated thereon or attached thereto; the gilded candlesticks and candles; the credence table; the several divers coloured altar coverings." Mr. Beal, a parishioner of St. Barnabas, applied for a monition to the churchwardens to remove the altar and the articles as in the case of St. Paul's. And it was further objected "that the cross on the altar was decorated with jewels; that there was a wooden screen with a large cross fixed thereon; that there were brazen gates, with locks thereon, separating the chancel from the church; that the linen cloth for the Communion was ornamented with lace and embroidery." Also, a prayer was made that the Court would direct the Ten Commandments to be put up at the east end of the chancel.

11. Dr. Lushington, the judge of the Consistory Court, pronounced judgment in the two cases on December 5, 1855. He decreed a faculty for the removal of the credence tables, and all the cloths used in the churches for covering the communion table, and to substitute one only covering of silk or other decent stuff. The cross on the altar and the cross on the screen were to be removed. The stone altar was to be taken away and a wooden table substituted. Any covering ornamented with lace or embroidery when the Sacrament is administered was forbidden; only a fair linen cloth was permitted. The Ten Commandments were to be set up at the east end of the church. The candles were only to be lighted for the purpose of giving light. The brazen gates were censured, but were not declared to be illegal. Thus all the points complained of were ruled as against the incumbent. Mr. Liddell appealed to the Arches Court, and on December 20, 1856, Sir John Dodson, the Dean of the Arches, delivered judgment, affirming the rulings of Dr. Lushington, and condemning the appellants in costs.¹

12. From these adverse decisions Mr. Liddell immediately appealed to her Majesty in Council, and the case was heard by the Judicial Committee.² On March 21, 1857,

¹ Brooke's *Privy Council Judgments*, pp. 43-45.

² The Lord Chancellor (Cranworth), Lord Wensleydale, Mr. Pem-

the judgment of the Judicial Committee was delivered. The two cases were taken together, as essentially the same principles were involved in both. After reciting the facts of the two cases their lordships laid it down "that the term *Ornaments* in ecclesiastical law is not confined as by modern usage to articles of decoration or embellishment, but it is used in the larger sense of the word 'ornamentum' — 'pro quocunque apparatu seu implemento.' All the several articles used in the performance of the services and rites of the Church are ornaments—vestments, books, cloths, chalices, and patens are amongst Church ornaments, also organs and bells. When reference is had to the first Prayer Book of Edward VI., with this explanation of the term 'ornaments,' no difficulty will be found in discovering among the articles of which the use is there enjoined, ornaments of the Church as well as ornaments of the ministers. Besides the vestments, differing in the different services, the rubric provides for the use of an English Bible, the new Prayer Book, a poor man's box, a chalice, a corporas, a paten, a bell and some other things. If reference be now made to the alterations in these matters introduced by the second Prayer Book of Edward VI., and the subsequent rubric to the Prayer Book of Elizabeth, the meaning will be sufficiently clear. The services were to be in conformity with the second Prayer Book with certain alterations, but the ornaments of the Church, whether those worn or those otherwise used by the minister, were to be according to the first Prayer Book. In conformity with this arrangement the Act 1 Elizabeth, c. 2, was passed, by which the use of the second Prayer Book was established, but it was provided "that such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI. until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty with such advice as therein mentioned." The rubric to the new Prayer Book, framed to express the meaning of this

berton Leigh, Sir John Patteson, Sir William H. Maule. Privy Councillors specially summoned, Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner), Bishop of London (Tait).

proviso, is in these words—"And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times of his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., according to the Act of Parliament set at the beginning of this book." Here the term ornaments is used as covering both the vestments of the ministers and the several articles used in the services; it is confined to such things as in the performance of the services the minister was to use. It will be observed that this rubric does not adopt precisely the language of the statute, but expresses the same thing in other words. The rubric to the Prayer Book of January 1, 1604, adopts the language of the rubric of Elizabeth. The rubric to the present Prayer Book adopts the language of the statute of Elizabeth, but they all obviously mean the same thing, that the same dresses and the same utensils or articles which were used under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. may still be used. None of them therefore can have any reference to articles not used in the services in the sense of decorations. Their lordships therefore are of opinion that although the rubric excluded all use of crosses in the services, the general question of crosses not used in the services, but employed only as decorations of churches, is entirely unaffected by the rubric. The next question is, Are crosses forbidden under the term "images" in the injunctions and Act of Parliament? Their lordships are of opinion that the law did not require the removal of crosses from churches merely as such, and after the most anxious consideration they have come to the conclusion that crosses, as distinguished from crucifixes, have been in use as ornaments of churches from the earliest periods of Christianity; that when used as mere emblems of the Christian faith, and not as objects of superstitious reverence, they may still lawfully be erected as architectural decorations of churches; that the wooden cross erected on the Chancel of St. Barnabas's is to be considered a mere architectural ornament, and that as to this article they must advise her Majesty to reverse the judgment complained of.

13. With regard to stone altars, after a review of the

history of the doctrine of the Eucharist in the Church of England, their lordships say, "The injunctions of Elizabeth plainly show that the Communion of the Lord's Supper was to be held at a table as distinguished from an altar," a table in the ordinary meaning of that term; that as by the rubric the bread used was to be "the ordinary bread eaten at table with other meats," so the table was to be of the character of those employed on such occasions; that it was not only to be movable, but was from time to time to be moved.¹ The 82d canon of 1604—that which is now in force—introduces no material alterations; it assumes the existence in all churches of convenient and decent tables for the celebration of the Holy Communion, and provides that they shall be kept in repair. It orders that the table be covered in time of divine service with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff thought meet by the Ordinary, and at the time of the ministration with a fair linen cloth, as becometh that table. The term "table," and the corresponding Latin word "mensa," especially when it is considered for what purpose it is to be used, naturally import a table of the material of which tables are ordinarily made. Their lordships are satisfied that the decree upon this point in *Faulkner v. Litchfield*² is well founded, and that they must advise her Majesty that the decree as to the removal of the stone structure at St. Barnabas's, and the cross upon it, and the substitution of a communion table of wood, ought to be affirmed.

14. With regard to credence tables the rubrics of the Prayer Book become important. Their lordships entirely agree with the opinions expressed by the learned judges in these cases, and in *Faulkner v. Litchfield*, that in the per-

¹ These injunctions are here somewhat misrepresented. The effect of them was rather to check the taking down of altars, while they ordered for the use at Holy Communion wafer bread, giving directions as to its shape and size.

² This was a suit brought by the vicar of the Church of St. Sepulchre in Cambridge, whose church was then undergoing restoration, to oppose the granting of a faculty to the churchwardens for the erection of a stone altar. The Chancellor's Court granted the faculty, and the vicar appealed to the Court of Arches. Judgment was given, Jan. 31, 1845, by Sir H. J. Fust disallowing the stone altar.

formance of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the Prayer Book, the directions contained in it must be strictly observed ; that no omission and no addition can be permitted ; but they are not prepared to hold that the use of all articles not expressly mentioned in the rubric, although quite consistent, and even subsidiary to the service, is forbidden. Organs are not mentioned, yet, because they are auxiliary to the singing, they are allowed. Pews, cushions to kneel upon, pulpit-cloths, hassocks, seats by the communion table, are in constant use, yet they are not mentioned in the rubric. Now what is a credence table ? It is simply a small side-table on which the bread and wine are placed before the consecration, having no connection with any superstitious usage of the Church of Rome. Their removal has been ordered because they are adjuncts to an altar ; their lordships cannot but think that they are more properly to be regarded as adjuncts to the communion table. The rubric directs that at a certain point in the communion service (for this is no doubt the true meaning of the rubric) the minister shall place the bread and wine on the communion table, but where they are to be placed previously is nowhere stated. Nothing seems to be less objectionable than a small side-table, from which they may be conveniently reached by the officiating minister, and at the proper time transferred to the communion table. As to the credence tables their lordships therefore must advise a reversal of the sentence complained of.

15. Next, as to the embroidered cloths, it is said that the canon orders a covering of silk, or of some other proper material, but that it does not mention, and therefore by implication excludes, more than one covering. Their lordships are unable to adopt this construction. An order that a table shall always be covered with a cloth surely does not imply that it shall always be covered with the same cloth, or with a cloth of the same colour or texture. The object of this canon seems to be to secure a cloth of a sufficiently handsome description, not to guard against too much splendour. Whether the cloths used are suitable or not is a matter to be left to the discretion of the Ordinary. In this case their lordships do not see any sufficient

reason for interference, and they must therefore advise the reversal of the sentence as to the cloth used for the covering of the Lord's Table during divine service. With respect to the embroidered linen and lace used on the communion table at the time of the ministrations of the Holy Communion, the rubric and the canon prescribe the use of a fair white linen cloth, and both the learned judges in the courts below have been of opinion that embroidery and lace are not consistent with the meaning of that expression, having regard to the nature of the table on which the cloth is to be used. Upon the whole their lordships do not dissent from the construction of the rubric adopted by the present decree upon this point, and they must therefore advise her Majesty to affirm it.¹

16. By this, the first great ritualistic judgment, the advance of Ritualism was by no means checked, but rather encouraged. Two important principles had been established, (1.) That the reference to the authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward VI. was to be taken to be equivalent to a reference to the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., and that all the ornaments of the church or minister specified in that book were in consequence legal. Thus, those who desired a more ornate service were left free not only to use splendid frontals with sequence of colours, but also to use the ancient Eucharistic vestments, and other things mentioned in that book. (2.) By the fact of the credence table being formally allowed, and by the grounds on which it was allowed, the principle was established, that *omission was not prohibition*; and that, so long as a thing could be shown to be fairly *subsidiary* to the service, it might be legally introduced and used. The allowance of the cross as a lawful ornament in churches was all that the appellants wanted, as there was no use for it in the service; and the strange inconsistency of allowing gorgeous altar cloths, but objecting to a laced corporas, did not inflict any very heavy blow upon them. In the matter of ceremonial, the Church of England had certainly made a step forward.

¹ Brooke's *Privy Council Judgments*, pp. 42-77.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EARLY DAYS OF CONVOCATION

1853-1856

1. Convocation in February 1853. 2. Its revival in danger of being suppressed. 3. Sessions of February 1854. 4. The reports of the committees. 5. The Reform of Convocation. 6. Change in the Primate's views. 7. Sessions of February 1855. 8. The address to the Crown on Reform. 9. Resolution to proceed without reform. 10. Protest of York against enforced silence. 11. The Church regaining her voice.

1. THE Convocation of Canterbury had, after its meeting on November 17, 1852, been prorogued to February 16, 1853. A committee of the Lower House had been appointed at the last Sessions to consider the representation of grievances and reforms which had been drawn up with great care by a body of clergy to be laid before the Lower House. This committee held that it could not act without the authorisation of the president, and that authorisation did not come. The prolocutor applied to the Primate for it. His Grace returned the following reply:—"Dear Mr. Dean—No answer was returned to the resolution of the Lower House concerning the appointment of a committee, because the novelty of the case made it necessary to take counsel upon the subject, for which there was no sufficient time before the prorogation. I am not now competent to give my consent to the summoning of the committee, as proposed in your letter, because I am unable to do any presidential act during the recess of Convocation."¹ Yet when the recess was ended and the Convocation had assembled again on the day appointed, February 16, the president was equally unable to do this much-desired act. After a few hours' session, and while the Lower House was

¹ *Synodalia*, p. 304.

still debating what was best to be done, the prolocutor was summoned to the Upper House and was informed that the synod was prorogued to August 16. On the following day Archdeacon Denison addressed a letter to the Primate, in which he said, "As a humble, and, I trust, a faithful son of the Church of England, I can see no means whereby these great objects which we desire may be obtained, except that one means which is a part of the essence of every branch of the Church Catholic freely to employ, and which, as such, is solemnly recognised by the laws and customs of this realm; subject always to the power of prorogation by the Crown, whensoever the Crown may see fit to exercise that power, and to the specific control of the Crown in respect of "the discussion of any new canon, constitution, or ordinance, provincial or synodal." He then pointed out, as one principally concerned in the drawing up of the representation on grievances, that the position of affairs was altogether unsatisfactory. The representation had been referred (against his judgment) to a committee. But the committee had never been allowed to meet. Under these circumstances he had given notices of motion on some of the most important parts of the representation, but before he had had the opportunity of bringing them forward, the Session was terminated. He therefore concludes, "I venture to implore your Grace, humbly, respectfully, most earnestly, not to permit for the time to come that the Convocation of the province of Canterbury may be convened for a few hours only of a single day, lest its very assembling at all degenerate once more into that which it has presented to the world for nearly one hundred and fifty years, into an idle and empty parade and form, to the great discredit of the Church, the gradual undermining of her efficiency, and the impairing of her life."¹ At the Sessions of February 16 a valuable report on Church discipline was presented by the committee of the Upper House which had been appointed in the previous session, and the president allowed the nomination of a committee to inquire into the right of curates to vote at election of proctors, but he refused to allow this to be communicated to the Lower House, or to

¹ *Synodalia*, p. 353.

direct them to appoint a committee. It was evidently the intention of the Primate to keep the presbyters in a very subordinate condition. Indeed under the government of Lord Aberdeen, which had now succeeded to power, there was a great danger lest the action of Convocation should be again suppressed. Mr. Gordon writes to Bishop Wilberforce : "I see there is a great hankering for a Crown prorogation, if not *dissolution*, even before the 16th (February)." To this Bishop Wilberforce replies : "God forbid that any such measure as you glance at should be adopted. It would light up such a flame as none living might see the end of."¹ The archbishop therefore probably felt himself on safe ground in restricting the action of Convocation within the narrowest limits.

2. It appears that at this time there was a serious intention on the part of Lord Aberdeen's government to issue a commission to inquire into the constitution and working of Convocation and to suggest improvements.² Commissions are the usual refuge of statesmen when they are in difficulty as to any matter, and there was now a considerable difficulty with regard to Convocation. Its action was distasteful in high places, where the English Church has never been thoroughly trusted, and on the other hand it was clearly seen that its suppression after the evidences of its reviving life would cause great dissatisfaction throughout the Church. To the tact and energy of Bishop Wilberforce, more than to any other cause, Convocation owed its continued and growing energy. Bishop Wilberforce had intended to have made an attempt to transact business on August 16, to which day the Convocation stood prorogued. But after deliberation he abandoned this plan. He writes, "The archbishop, in reply to my notice, strongly pleads against business this time ; and at last says he will, if attempted, prorogue by prerogative. The Bishop of London is strong for postponing till the opening of Parliament. I put it to the archbishop whether, if we make no attempt now, he will not bring it to a collision at the re-assembling of Parliament." The archbishop would make no promise, but said he must learn the views of Government.

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 164, 165.

² *Ib.* ii. 183.

In a letter to the Bishop of Oxford he says plainly that he was afraid that there were subjects on which their views did not coincide, and that Convocation was and would continue to be one of them "as long as you desire its revival and I oppose it."¹ Happily the influence of the bishop, whose eloquence in the House of Lords was most valuable for the Government, proved stronger than that of the Primate. Under January 4 (1854) the bishop notes in his diary, "With Lord Aberdeen, and settled about Convocation. No hindrance to one day's business, nor, if need be, to a second. Archbishop's note, fishing for a Government interruption, arrived while I was in the House. Settled the answer to it." But this covert attempt to injure the Church the Primate seems to have dissembled to his brethren. Under January 26 is the following: "The archbishop told the Bishop of London 'That no objection to a day's doing of business in Convocation. That we should therefore meet on Wednesday. That he supposed we should receive, report, and appoint committees as before,' etc. Bishop of London said, 'he spoke about it so that I imagined he had seen you, and settled that it should be as you wished.' So unlike the truth, he having tried all he could, and more than most would, to persuade Lord Aberdeen to use his prepared form of exoneration and extinguish Convocation."²

3. An account of the Sessions of the Convocation of Canterbury of February 1, 1854, may fitly be prefaced by the following from Bishop Wilberforce's diary: "After many prayers for God's guidance, restraint, and blessing—to Convocation; where nearly all day, and D. G. most marvellously succeeded. The bishops, who heretofore had been our chief opposers, moving and seconding our motions. God be praised, whose work I believe it is."³ The work done in the two Houses on February 1 consisted in the reception of the report of a committee previously appointed,⁴ and the

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 199.

² *Ib.* ii. 229.

³ *Ib.* ii. 232.

⁴ To consider whether licensed curates had the right of voting for proctors. The committee reported in the negative. The Bishop of Exeter protested against this.

appointment of some other committees. But a great step forward was now made in that the committees appointed by the Upper House were not to be merely committees of the bishops, but to comprise also a certain number of the members of the Lower House to act conjointly with their lordships. The Lower House also was permitted to nominate two committees of its own members—one to consider the “privileges and modes of procedure in the House, and the additions which it may be expedient to make to the standing orders, consistently with ancient practice;” another to consider the schedules of *gravamina* and *reformanda* which may be presented to the House. The committees voted by the Upper House, and on each of which seven of the members of the Lower House were to serve, were first, a committee to “consider whether any, and if so what, reforms in the constitution of Convocation were expedient to enable it to treat with the full confidence of the Church of such matters as her Majesty might be pleased to submit to its deliberations,” and second, “to consider and report to this House whether the great increase and present condition of the population does not make some, and what, adaptation of the Church’s rule needful to meet the Church’s needs.” Convocation was prorogued to June 30 and then to July 20. York had as yet done nothing. Bishop Wilberforce was, as has been seen, fully satisfied with this day’s work in the Convocation of Canterbury. The reports as yet only give the Acts and do not furnish the debates.

4. At the Sessions of July 20 “all passed most amicably.”¹ The reports of the committees appointed at the previous Sessions were presented, and contain some very interesting information and recommendations. That on “Reform of Convocation” recommends that there should be one clergy proctor for each archdeaconry; that all beneficed clergy and all curates and chaplains, being in priest’s orders and licensed, should have a right to vote. It then makes some suggestions as to the practical working of Convocation. It decides that the Lower House may present through their prolocutor *gravamina* to the Upper House as *articuli cleri*, and that any individual member

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 248.

may present through the prolocutor his private schedule of *gravamina et reformanda*. That the Lower House has power of itself to appoint committees on matters touching its own business, but that it cannot decline to discuss business sent down to it from the Upper House, nor refuse to appoint committees when the president requires it; neither must it enter upon business with a view to a synodal Act unless required by the Upper House, and it must submit to the president's prorogation. The committee on the Church services recommends many of the reforms which have since been adopted, namely, that the services might with advantage be more divided. That where a third service is used a new service constructed from the Prayer Book might be employed. That a shortened order of daily prayer is desirable, and that various occasional services might be formed from the Book of Common Prayer and used with the permission of the bishop. It recommends that the bishop should be empowered to authorise the use of the service for Holy Communion as a separate service on week-days; and to allow the substitution of other lessons than those of the day on special occasions; also that a collection of hymns should be put out by authority; that a form for admitting converts from the Church of Rome should be authorised; that parents should be allowed to stand as sponsors for their children; that bishops might with advantage ordain literates to the diaconate who should not be capable of advancing to priest's orders for five years; that mission preachers connected with the cathedrals might with advantage be employed; and that there was a great need for the extension of the Episcopate. It says much for the value of the revival of Convocation that most of these recommendations¹ have already been carried out, while others of them are in contemplation. The committee on the privileges of the Lower House reported much valuable information as to the principles which should govern that body and as to its method of procedure.

¹ Almost the same recommendations were made by the committee of the Lower House appointed to consider the subject of *gravamina*. One of these *gravamina* had represented that more than five millions of persons were absent from worship on the Lord's Day.

5. These reports on becoming known naturally excited a good deal of interest among the clergy, especially the report on the reform of Convocation. It was argued strongly that in its present state the Convocation of Canterbury did not represent the Church of the province. "I cannot," writes one critic, "regard Convocation in any other light than as a sort of Ecclesiastical Privy Council to advise the Sovereign on Church matters when consulted upon the same, and as the voice of the dignitaries of the Church with a few words from the beneficed clergy."¹ This writer would do away with all *ex officio* seats; others, while retaining these, were desirous of increasing the number of clergy proctors by a much larger number than had been recommended by the committee. But how was this to be done? Bishop Wilberforce appears to have been in favour of an inquiry by a commission, with a view, perhaps, of parliamentary action. Others, and as it seems with sounder views, objected to this. Mr. Gladstone writes: "Why should the reform of Convocation be considered by a commission rather than by the two Houses themselves acting in concert by delegations, joint committee, or whatever be most in form? I do not like the idea that the assembled clergy should give their countenance to a form of proceeding which is at the very best but half constitutional, and which may become in circumstances not remote extremely dangerous."² As it was of the utmost importance that the method by which the universally-desired reform might be accomplished should be clearly ascertained, a "Case" was submitted to the Solicitor-General and Dr. Robert Phillimore by some members of Convocation. The case ran as follows:—

"I. Whether it is competent to the archbishop upon petition to that effect from both Houses of Convocation by virtue of his own authority, in his mandate commanding the dean of the province to summon the bishops and clergy of his province, to give special directions respecting the number of the proctors for the clergy to be returned from each diocese, the mode of their election, and the qualifica-

¹ *Journal of Convocation*, Dec. 1854, p. 56.

² Mr. Gladstone to Bishop Wilberforce. *Life of Wilberforce*, ii. 144.

tion of the electors, being spiritual persons ; varying and enlarging the directions now contained in the mandate of the archbishop ; and whether such directions given by the archbishop in his mandate would be a sufficient warrant to the bishops and all returning officers to conduct the elections in conformity with such directions, the customs now existing in the several dioceses (which are neither uniform nor invariable) with regard to the election of proctors notwithstanding.

“II. And if you think the archbishop’s authority insufficient to effect the object proposed, you are requested further to state what course you would suggest for the purpose of giving the necessary validity to the archbishop’s directions.

“OPINION.

“1. The writ to the archbishop respecting the assembling of Convocation orders his Grace to summon ‘the clergy’ (clerum) and is silent as to the manner and mode of their representation.

“It would seem that the mode of representation has varied at different times in different ways, and among them by the omission and addition of proctors.

“Nevertheless it appears to us that it would not now be competent to Convocation to put a construction upon the word *clerus* or clergy, so as thereby to enlarge the constituency beyond the limits assigned it by usage, without the consent and ratification of the Crown.

“2. We are of opinion that it would be competent to Convocation, having obtained the license of the Crown, to discuss the question of the alteration of their representative body, and to make a canon enlarging it ; and that such canon, if it subsequently obtained the approbation of the Crown, would be sufficient to effect legally a new representation of the clergy in Convocation.

“RICHARD BETHELL.

“ROBERT PHILLIMORE.

“LINCOLN’S INN, *April* 30, 1855.”

The way of reforming Convocation thus clearly indi-

cated, and which is so much in accordance with common sense, has unfortunately never as yet been acted on.¹

6. Meanwhile a remarkable change had come over the position of Convocation. Hitherto it had been struggling for existence with an unwilling president, the Government only timidly permitting its action, and its life seeming to hang by a thread. All of a sudden the situation is changed. The president himself is now suing for greater liberty and longer sessions, the Government assenting to his desires; and the one-day session becoming three with full liberty to discuss the matters brought before it.

Under January 19 (1855) Bishop Wilberforce enters in his journal—"The archbishop pressing lengthened sittings of Convocation on Lord Aberdeen! I feel as if the stone we had so hardly rolled up the hill were beginning to roll over. May God direct it aright." "Judge of my wonder and delight," writes Mr. Gordon to the bishop, "at hearing that the archbishop himself brought the matter forward by expressing his hope that Lord Aberdeen would see no objection to a prolonged session of Convocation, as it was very essential that business should be transacted by Convocation, *which could not properly be considered by any other body*. My father from an *official* feeling rather than from any real objection fought a little and asked whether there was anything Convocation could do which the bishops could not do as well by themselves? The archbishop at once replied that there were many things, and especially instanced the *division of services*. The recommendation of the bishops, he said, would, or at least might not, be attended to; the directions of Convocation he had no doubt would be generally obeyed. The end of the whole conversation was, that though my father would not bind himself by any positive promise, he said he should be very unwilling to incur the responsibility of refusing a permission which the Archbishop of

¹ In 1865 it was again resolved by both Houses to address the Crown for leave to make a canon. In 1887 this resolution has once more been adopted. Lord Selborne has given it as his opinion that Convocation could not be thus enlarged. A committee of the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation has published a report in opposition to this.

Canterbury, whose moderation every one knew, and who was not generally supposed to be over-fond of the Convocation, had declared to be required by the interests of the Church of England. So that we may now, thank God, consider the prolonged session as secured."¹

Lord Aberdeen was, however, desirous of receiving a letter from the archbishop signifying his wish, which he might use against those who might attack him, and in consequence the archbishop wrote as follows:—

“*January 22, 1855.*

“MY DEAR LORD—A communication from the Bishop of London leads me to believe that your Lordship may wish to have it under my hand that I consider a continuation of Convocation for one, or perhaps two days, beyond the day of meeting, Tuesday, February 6, to be desirable rather than otherwise. The committees were allowed to be formed last year and to deliberate and to report. It seems, therefore, that the consideration of their reports is only reasonable, and one day will not suffice for that purpose. But I may be permitted to add that if your Lordship is called upon for consent to this, it may be well to limit the consent to two, or at most, three days.—I have, etc.

“J. B. CANTUAR.”

The Sessions of February 6 (1855) thus opened under very encouraging circumstances for the working of Convocation.

7. The reports already alluded to were discussed during these Sessions. An animated debate took place in the Upper House on the Report for Church Extension as to the desirability of any alteration in the Church services. The Bishop of Oxford maintained that the rubrics might properly be altered and changes made in the Lectionary. This was strongly opposed by the Bishop of Exeter, who would have no alteration either in rubrics or lessons, taking the old timid ground that, if any alteration were made, people would press for more. He was not, however, supported by any of his brethren. Another advance in the working of Convocation was now made. Instead of the resolutions agreed upon being embodied in

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 268.

an address to the Crown, they were communicated to the Lower House, that they might be considered by them. On the report as to the reform of Convocation being read, the Bishop of Oxford moved that it was not expedient at this time to attempt any change in the constitution of Convocation. "The constitution of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury," he said, "did not spring from any Act of Parliament. It had neither been created nor modified by an Act of the Legislature. Whether it had the power of changing or modifying its own constitution might be a matter of grave legal doubt;¹ and therefore although the recommendations of the report might remove some anomalies at present existing, still any such benefits would be dearly purchased by anything that had a tendency to introduce elements of doubt as to the constitution of Convocation."² The Lower House being called upon to report what they had done in the matter of the resolutions on clergy discipline and Church extension, which had been submitted to them, were found to have come to the conclusion that no alterations in the rubrics or the Lectionary should be made except for the occasional services. This rigid view was distasteful to the bishops, being the same which had been rejected when proposed by the Bishop of Exeter. The amendment was referred back to the Lower House, but they were not inclined to yield, and it was ultimately agreed that the matter should be considered again at another session. In the Lower House there had been a good deal of confusion, and many members had argued that, until the House was reformed it was not competent to discuss the matters sent down to it—an argument much more likely to lead to the silencing than to the reform of Convocation. The record of the discussion indeed shows that Convocation had much yet to learn in the way of transacting business.

On June 28, when the legal opinion which had been taken as to the reform of Convocation had become known, the two Houses agreed to adopt the following important address to the Crown:—

¹ It was probably to remove this doubt that the legal opinion given above was taken.

² *Journal of Convocation*, Feb. 8, p. 249.

"I. We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, assembled in Convocation, humbly represent to your Majesty—

"II. That Committees of Convocation have sat, and after careful consideration, have reported to Convocation on various subjects deeply concerning the spiritual welfare of this realm, viz. on the measures needful for enforcing discipline amongst the clergy, the extension of the Church, the modification of her services, and the reform of the representation of the clergy in the Provincial Synod of Canterbury.

"III. We are convinced that the full consideration of these subjects is of great moment to the wellbeing of our Church; but in order that our deliberations on these and such other matters as your Majesty shall see fit to submit for our consideration may be so conducted as to give the Church the fullest satisfaction that in them the mind of the clergy will be fairly expressed, we humbly submit to your Majesty that the representation of the clergy in the Lower House of our Convocation ought to be amended.

"IV. On consulting very high legal authorities, we are informed that such an amendment may lawfully be carried into effect if your Majesty will be pleased to grant us your Royal License to consider with a view to agreeing on any such amendments, and shall afterwards approve of the same when submitted to your royal consideration.

"V. We venture, therefore, humbly to pray your Majesty to grant us your Royal License to consider of a Constitution hereupon.

"VI. And in order that these deliberations may include the clergy of the Northern Province, we further pray your Majesty to grant a similar license to the Convocation of the Province of York, and to sanction our communicating with that body with a view to uniting, under your Majesty's approval, our deliberations hereon."¹

To this very humble and dutiful address the following answer was sent:—

¹ *Journal of Convocation*, Feb. 1856, p. 7.

“WHITEHALL, *August 7, 1855.*

“MY LORD ARCHBISHOP—I have had the honour to lay before the Queen the address transmitted to me by your Grace on the 27th ultimo, from the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the province of Canterbury assembled in Convocation, praying her Majesty to grant them her Royal License to consider and agree upon a Canon or Constitution, to be submitted to her Majesty’s consideration, for effecting modifications in the representation of the clergy in the Lower House of Convocation. I have the honour to inform your Grace that this address was graciously received by her Majesty, but that her Majesty has not been advised to comply with its prayer.—I have the honour to be, my Lord Archbishop, your Grace’s obedient servant,
G. GREY.”¹

8. But though thus defeated in its endeavours to reform itself, the Convocation of Canterbury was not on that account constrained to silence. It was the constitutional representative of the Church, and the best that under the circumstances could be obtained, and as such was bound to act. This was well put by the Bishop of Oxford. “We knew that in one particular circumstance Convocation laboured under a certain reproach which was more or less generally believed to attach to it; we desired, therefore, by constitutional means to remove that reproach, in order that the body might be able to act with the greater confidence of those whom to a certain extent it represents. We have made that attempt, and we have been, by a power external to ourselves, for the present delayed in carrying out our purpose. The question then meets us: Is there anything inconsistent with the opinions we have expressed in promoting the further action of that body, though unreformed, and endeavouring to do through it all the good we can? I venture to think there is none. We have made our endeavour to introduce the improvements which we desired. Other powers have for the time refused us their necessary concurrence; we are therefore prepared to go on with the instrument which the Constitution has given us under the best conditions we can.”²

¹ *Journal of Convocation*, Feb. 1856, p. 70.

² *Ib.* p. 73.

The Session of February 1, 1856, lasted only a single day, but a very large number of notices of motion were given, and it was evident that the Convocation of Canterbury would have no lack of business on its hands.

9. At York, as yet, not even a single day, nor in fact a single hour, was allowed to the clergy. On Convocation being opened by the archbishop's commissary, only one member (Canon Trevor) was present. Canon Trevor had written a learned work on the two Convocations, and was deeply interested in the restoration of their action. He asked a perfectly regular question, but was told by the commissioner that he was instructed to answer no questions. He might receive a written paper, but such paper could not be read or considered. Whereupon Canon Trevor tendered a paper complaining that, though the Convocation of Canterbury had been allowed for some years past freely to consider important subjects affecting the interests of the Church, "the meetings of this Convocation have been so ordered, that no opportunity has been afforded of eliciting the sentiments of any of its members on any of these important questions;" he therefore prays that this grievance may be amended.¹

10. Certainly if the clergy of the southern province had had some reason to complain of their Primate, those of the northern province had a still more crying grievance. It was not, therefore, without good cause that Lord Redesdale, the constant friend of Convocations, presented on July 7 (1856), in the House of Lords, a petition signed by a large proportion of the members of the Convocation of the province of York, which set forth "That the Convocation of the province of York is of equal antiquity, power, and authority with that of the province of Canterbury, endowed with the same privileges, and subject by law to no other restraints: That the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury have lately deliberated in Convocation on divers questions affecting the welfare of the Church and the duties and interests of the clergy, and in particular have appointed committees which are now sitting to consider of the best means of improving the dis-

¹ *Journal of Convocation*, Feb. 1856, p. 102.

cipline of the clergy : That all opportunity of participating in such deliberations has been denied to the Convocation of the province of York, though equally interested in the subjects discussed, and containing a fuller representation of the parochial clergy than that of Canterbury : That by a Bill introduced into your lordships' House for amending the law of Church discipline, special burdens and restraints are proposed to be laid upon the clergy, which have not been considered by their lawful representatives in Convocation : Your petitioners therefore pray, that, having regard to the constitutional union of Church and State, and the just rights of all classes of her Majesty's subjects, your lordships will be pleased before proceeding in the said Bill, or any other measure specifically affecting the clergy, to address her Most Gracious Majesty, or otherwise to procure that the same may be permitted to the prelates and clergy of both provinces in their Convocations now lawfully in being under the royal writs addressed to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York respectively." This petition was signed by five archdeacons and twenty-three proctors. Its prayer was advocated in a temperate speech by Lord Redesdale, who referred to the debates in the Canterbury Convocation as showing that the fears which had been entertained as to the action of Convocation were unfounded.

11. Meantime the synod of the southern province proceeded unchecked in its work, and in the Sessions of April 1856 the Lower House presented to the bishops a very valuable report on Church discipline, in which the difficult question of the Court of Final Appeal is very carefully treated. Some discussions also took place as to the possibility of reconciling to the Church the Wesleyan Methodists, who, had Convocation not been in abeyance in the last century, would probably never have been alienated. The proceedings of both Houses were now fully reported in the journal or chronicle of Convocation, and when, after a short interval, York at length found its voice, the Church of England may be said to have regained after a long silence its power of utterance—which, if not so distinct and satisfactory as many desired, and still desire, is yet unmistak-

ably the voice of the clergy—the spirituality of the Church speaking in their proper synods.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

ALTERATION OF CANONS BY CONVOCATION.

1. The claim of Convocation to be an integral part of the constitution of the country, and to have the right of being consulted on all matters connected with the spirituality, or of doctrine or discipline, has been recognised by the State on several occasions. In 1861 a royal license was granted to the two Convocations to alter the terms of the 29th canon, which excludes the father and mother from being sponsors to their children, and ordains that none shall be admitted sponsors but those who have received the Holy Communion. The two Convocations agreed to a new form, allowing parents to stand as sponsors, and ordaining that no person should stand as sponsor who was not *capax* of receiving Holy Communion. The canon thus amended was submitted to the Crown for the last act to make it valid, but that act was not performed. It was said that Lord Westbury, the then Lord Chancellor, thought that the substitution of the word *capax* for *particeps* would give a dangerous liberty to the clergy. Under these circumstances the Convocation of Canterbury thought it better to take what they could get, and be content with the modification of the clause as to parents. The Convocation therefore again altered the canon. But another difficulty then arose. The province of York objected to this half measure, and then the advisers of the Crown thought it undesirable to have different uses for the two provinces, and thus the canon has never been published under royal letters patent.

2. In 1865 certain new forms of

the Canons which regulate subscription (36, 37, 38, 40) were agreed to by a royal commission and submitted to the Convocations, which received the royal license to promulge new canons on these points. The Convocations adopted the forms recommended by the commission, and these having been promulged and confirmed by letters patent, were enacted by Statute 28 and 29 Vict., c. 122, § 11.

The effect of the change was considerably to modify the stringency of subscription. Whitgift's three articles, formerly recited in the 36th canon, were now omitted, and in place of them was substituted a simple declaration of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles and Book of Common Prayer, and to the doctrine of the Church of England, and a promise to use the form of the Prayer Book, and none other. An alteration was also made in the ordination services, directing the oath of supremacy to be taken before the commencement of the service, and not in the middle of it as formerly.

3. In 1887 the royal license to make and promulge new canons in place of canons 62 and 102 was issued and acted upon by the Convocations. The effect of the change being to extend the time lawful for the celebration of matrimony from 12 to 3 in accordance with the Statute law.

4. An amended form of the whole code of canons of 1603 has been drawn up, after long and careful deliberations, by a committee of the Convocation of Canterbury acting in unison with a committee of the Convocation of York. But this has not yet been adopted by the Convocations.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CATHEDRAL COMMISSION

1851-1855

1. The census of religious worship.
2. The needs of the population cause an attack on the cathedrals.
3. The cathedral commission.
4. Defence of the cathedrals.
5. Theological colleges.
6. The proposed reforms at Salisbury.
7. First report of cathedral commissioners.
8. Second and third reports—Recommendations on constitution.
9. On minor canons and divine service.
10. On education.
11. On capitular property.
12. Recommendation of new Sees.
13. Fate of the report.

1. IN 1851 a census of religious worship was taken under the authority of the Registrar-General.¹ The object was to ascertain the amount of accommodation for religious worship provided by each denomination, and the amount of persons using such accommodation. The object to be attained was clearly one most difficult to reach satisfactorily. It was necessary to depend on a vast number of returns, made in some cases carelessly, in others influenced by interested motives. The result of the inquiry was not therefore one to be perfectly relied upon, but still it may be assumed to have given an approximate estimate of the state of religious worship in England. Returns were obtained from 14,077 churches belonging to the Church of England, and from 20,390 places of worship belonging to other religious bodies. The number of religious bodies, including the Church, which were sufficiently organised to

¹ For a searching examination of the nature of this census and an exposure of its defects see *Defence of the Church of England*, by Lord Selborne, pp. 267, *sq.* A paper estimating the relative numbers of Churchmen and Dissenters in the year 1880 will be found in Notes and Illustrations to this chapter.

be treated as such, was twenty-seven native and indigenous, nine foreign. Assuming that the persons able to attend divine worship might fairly be calculated at 58 per cent of the population, there were in England, in 1851, 10,398,013 persons able to attend. Of this number accommodation was provided in churches for 5,317,915, leaving about half of possible church-goers without any accommodation in churches. The accommodation provided by the whole of the sects failed to make up this deficiency, and it was found that taking all this into consideration there were yet 1,644,734 persons wholly unprovided for by any religious body whatever. This state of things was sufficiently startling, and although the Church was found to stand fairly well as regards the sectarian bodies, providing as she did 52·1 of the whole of the accommodation for worship, and thus exceeding the whole of the sects united, yet when the proportion of the sittings in churches to the population, which was only 29·6, or the proportion to possible church-goers calculated at 58 per cent of the population, was considered, the matter looked very serious.

2. The lack of accommodation in churches did not proceed altogether from negligence in the matter of church-building. Between 1831 and 1851 2029 churches were built, at an estimated cost of £6,087,000. Of this sum £511,385 was contributed from the public funds, £5,575,615 by private benefaction. The mischief arose from the rapid growth of the population in certain great centres, where the increase of their numbers was comparatively unmarked and unprovided for. Thus in London, excluding the City, the number of sittings deficient was no less than 669,514 ; in Manchester, 80,033 ; in Birmingham, 68,236. Yet the increase of church accommodation between 1841 and 1851 had been very striking, being no less than 11·3 per cent, while the increase of the population had been only 12·6 per cent. This was, however, to make no provision for the overtaking of past neglects, but simply an imperfect struggle to keep pace with fresh arising needs. Under these circumstances it was scarcely to be wondered at that men should turn their eyes to the rich foundations still possessed by the Church, and begin to raise a question

whether their revenues could not be more profitably employed than in maintaining in ease a class of men who, in the popular estimation, were not contributing much towards the evangelisation of the masses. Many schemes more or less wild were put forward. One proposed by some friends of the Church was for "the creation of new endowments, not new churches. These endowments they propose to fix at no greater amount than £100 a year to be added to a similar sum produced by voluntary efforts; and subsidiary to this they contemplate the creation of ten new Sees with £2000 a year each. But to provide a fund capable of creating even such moderate endowments, they propose not only to appropriate the whole present surplus, both of the episcopal and capitular funds, but they propose likewise to suppress all deaneries, and apply the proceeds (£36,000 a year) to the payment of the new bishops and rectors; or if it should be necessary to maintain some deaneries, they propose to do so by appropriating canonries to them. The chapters will be the first attacked, because the least defensible upon proof of present utility. I think," continues a writer describing this scheme, "their sacrifice would be a heavy loss and injury to the Church, and, if a loss at all, an irreparable one, for we shall never persuade people to recreate what, when existing, we cannot induce them to retain. But I am bound to say that my sense of the loss and injury to the Church is founded rather upon what they have been, what they ought to be, and what they might be again, than on what they are. It will be too late when the attack is made to plead what chapters might do. They will be judged on what they have done, and still more on what they are actually doing, and I am for this reason most anxious that something should be effected by them before they are called to account."¹

3. On such grounds as these, and in face of the prevailing attacks on cathedrals, a government not unfriendly to the Church determined to appoint a royal commission "to inquire into the state of the cathedral and collegiate churches in England and Wales, and matters connected

¹ *Proposals for the Better Application of Cathedral Institutions* (Right Hon. Sidney Herbert), p. 9, sq.

therewith." The commission recited that the recommendations of the commissioners of inquiry into the state of the Established Church in England and Wales, touching the cathedral and collegiate churches therein, had proved most beneficial, in enabling Parliament to devise measures for the greater efficiency of the Established Church,¹ especially by making provision for the cure of souls in populous districts where assistance was immediately required,² and that it had been represented to her Majesty that the said cathedral and collegiate churches might be made more available for promoting the high and holy purposes for which they were founded, and for further extending the efficiency and usefulness of the Established Church, therefore the commissioners were instructed to inquire "into the state and condition of the several cathedral and collegiate churches, and into the duties of the members and ministers thereof, and other matters connected therewith, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as (regard being had to the purposes for which such cathedral and collegiate churches were originally founded) may render the same more efficient and useful in promoting and extending the means of public worship and religious education, and in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline in the several dioceses in which they are situate, and also (where occasion may seem to require) with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may make the said cathedral and collegiate churches and the revenues thereof available in aid of the erection of new Sees, or of other arrangements for the discharge of episcopal duties." The idea underlying this commission evidently was the making the cathedral system still more subservient to the parochial and diocesan system, and either turning the deans into bishops, or abolishing the office in order to transfer its revenues to an episcopal or parochial fund. For the danger in which they were now placed the cathedrals were themselves principally to blame. The movement which was proceeding vigorously in other

¹ 3 and 4 Vict., c. 113; 4 and 5 Vict., c. 39.

² The "Peel districts" as they were called, the stipend for which was provided by anticipating the funds which would accrue to the ecclesiastical commission.

parts of the Church's system had, in fact, as yet scarcely reached them. They seemed to be standing still, without much evidence of life and utility, and hasty and shallow reformers, who did not perceive or estimate their great capabilities, were desirous to seize upon their revenues in order to apply them to what they considered more useful purposes. In some cases there was a lingering and feeble regard for these old institutions, and partial measures were advocated. Others went further and would take the whole of cathedral revenues for the parochial clergy, "openly asserting that the incomes enjoyed by capitular bodies are given for discharging no duties at all, and that so far as regards the interests of the Church it might be better if those revenues were thrown into the sea."¹

4. Churchmen, who had learned to look a little below the surface, and who were not inclined to abandon an ancient and venerable institution because it did not stand forth at the moment in full working order, were seriously alarmed. Thus, in a *Plea for the Cathedrals*, Dr. Jebb remonstrates: "It is proposed by the Marquis of Blandford² to make the Church of England more efficient by the virtual abrogation of some of her most ancient institutions, her cathedral deans and chapters. It is proposed to exhibit bishops and clergy, to whose office belongs the maintenance of moral justice and right, as the desirable products of a new system of administrative policy, in which justice and right are to be sacrificed to the popular idols of expediency, and what is falsely called utility. The cause of the Church of God is sought to be upheld by those false principles which have in all ages been alleged as apologies for spoliation and wrong."³ "As often happens in crude projects of reform, the changes which are alleged to be merely financial, or affecting the accidents of the question, do actually interfere with its essence. Thus a cathedral church with a bishop for its incumbent, and two superior and two inferior stipendiary ministers as assistants,

¹ *Proposals for the Better Application of Cathedral Institutions* (Right Hon. Sidney Herbert), p. 11.

² Lord Blandford had brought a Bill into the House of Commons with this object.

³ *Plea for the Cathedrals*, p. 1.

is no longer a collegiate body with independent rights and privileges. Its corporate property is gone ; it has lost all power of self-government ; it is incapable even of adequately keeping up the proper public services. It becomes merely the bishop's chapel or church with a moderate supply of curates. The Church is thus deprived of her aggregate corporations altogether. How soon her corporations sole may disappear is a question not very difficult to answer."¹ In the weighty representation drawn up by members of the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation, but not as yet allowed to be considered in committee, it is said : "The cathedral churches and their chapters are a principal portion of the framework of the Church as established in this kingdom, having been originally designed to be respectively the chief churches of their dioceses, and to supply a council to the bishop, and thereby to exercise an intimate and pervading influence throughout the diocese."²

5. Meantime, in some of the cathedrals, institutions had been springing up which, by their manifest utility, had shown practically one of the great purposes which those noble institutions might serve. Wells and Chichester had for some years had theological colleges for training candidates for holy orders attached to them. Other dioceses were preparing to follow this example.³ The lack of professional education for holy orders had long been a scandal to the Church of England. The representation quoted above says weightily : "For the sake of all, the education and training of the clergy for their sacred office especially require the most careful consideration by the Church." The synod at Exeter had strongly emphasised this great need, and Mr. Freeman, Principal of the Chichester College,

¹ *Plea for the Cathedrals*, p. 20.

² *Synodalia*, p. 127.

³ The dates of the foundations of the several diocesan theological colleges are as follows :—Chichester, 1839 ; Wells, 1840 ; Cuddesdon, 1853 ; Lichfield, 1857 ; Salisbury, 1860 ; Gloucester, 1868 ; Lincoln, 1874 ; Ely, 1876 ; Leeds, 1876 ; Truro, 1877. Besides these colleges connected with cathedrals, there are others intended to supply the whole theological course, as St. Bees, 1816 ; Lampeter, 1822 ; St. Aidans, 1846 ; St. John's, Highbury, 1863.—A. H. Hore, *The Church in England*, ii. 541.

writing to the Bishop of Exeter on the subject, said, "The need of which I speak is no partial or novel one, but one as wide as the Church itself, and as ancient at least as her reformed doctrine and polity. Am I uttering too bold a word in saying that education for the clergy has long been, and still is, a grievous and urgent need of the English Church? To say so is, of course, to subscribe to some degree of condemnation both of ourselves, the existing clergy of that Church, and to those of past times. But as far as the present generation is concerned, my reverend brethren will not, I am sure, be the last to join with me in such a sentence. On the contrary, I am assured that there is but one feeling among them on this point, and that I may safely say for them as for myself, that we deeply feel the disadvantages which our ministry labours under from our having had no special preparation for it. And doubtless we labour under it yet more than we feel it; for such wants must from their nature be to a great extent unconscious; we cannot fathom the depth of our own deficiencies."¹

6. In the colleges which had been founded, or were being contemplated, one great field of usefulness had already been entered upon by the cathedrals; and to the more enlightened members of the chapters many more were in prospect. In an admirable pamphlet by Walter Kerr Hamilton, Canon of Salisbury, the future work possible to that great cathedral is powerfully sketched. The Canon is fully conscious of the critical nature of the times, and of the vast importance of the cathedral bodies showing themselves zealous to use their great opportunities. He writes, "I would not willingly be a prophet of ill, but I know what statesmen who are zealous Churchmen think of this, and I am the more earnest that we should bring out a plan worthy in all its details of that character which our cathedral once bore, because I have been advised by one whose brilliant talents are only equalled by his love for the Church of God,² that one well considered and thoroughly efficient plan for the reform of any one cathedral would do more than anything else to dispose the laity to measure with a

¹ *Plea for the Education of the Clergy* (Rev. P. Freeman), p. 12.

² Probably Mr. Sidney Herbert.

friendly eye the great capabilities of such institutions." He then gives a sketch of what he conceives his cathedral might be made. "A cathedral church in which divine service is daily celebrated by its members with all the proper circumstances to mark the character of the Being to whom it is addressed, and the earnest sincerity of the worshippers,—where all spiritual ministrations are conducted in the best way,—by the endowments of which the cures of the city parishes are mainly, if not wholly, supported, and all classes and all ages of the rising generation of the adjoining city are educated, and mistresses are trained to teach in all parts of the diocese the children of the poor; where the springs of all such good works as diocesan charities are moved and regulated by a resident canon; where the vicars choral attend, as by statute required to do, the daily services, and by assisting in parochial work, and by ministrations at the city workhouse and the schools connected with the cathedral, are preparing to pass on to benefices in the gift of the dean and chapter, or themselves to become resident canons; where the laymen are a body of efficient singers and good Christian tradesmen, and where the prebendaries are identified with the whole condition of their mother church. The very glimpse of such a church gladdens one's heart and tells one to rejoice."¹ It will be observed that this eloquent sketch of the uses of a cathedral nevertheless represents but one side of those duties, and treats the cathedral as a great and efficient Parish Church, saying nothing of its peculiar advantages as a place for the highest education and the deepest study. But as cathedral life was now being stirred, the multiform value of these great institutions would soon become apparent.

7. The cathedral commissioners published their first report in July 1854. It did not contain any definite recommendations. It sketched historically the origin and character of the cathedrals, not exhibiting in the sketch either very deep research or absolute accuracy, but yet supplying a good popular account of these institutions. It then touched upon several points in which improvements might be made in the present working of

¹ "Letter to the Dean of Salisbury," by W. K. Hamilton, p. 33.

cathedrals, showing the duties of the various officers, the sums already apportioned by these bodies for parochial ministrations,¹ their capability of becoming theological schools, of special diocesan duties being assigned to the canons, of evening services with sermons being introduced into them, and throwing out various suggestions rather with a view of inviting discussion and showing their readiness to receive statements of the views of those interested, than expressing any definite opinions or recommendations. They declare that "whilst they are persuaded that great benefits may accrue from well-considered reforms in these institutions, they are convinced that no less evils may arise from premature recommendations on so important a subject. They are also of opinion that questions like those under their consideration, affecting important interests, religious and secular, have a strong claim to be treated with caution and reverence, and cannot be dealt with beneficially unless so treated." The report was of a character to soothe and calm the apprehensions which had been excited in the cathedral bodies, but the final recommendations of the commissioners were anxiously expected.

8. In June 1855 the second and third reports of the cathedral commissioners were issued. The second report dealt merely with the proposed Cornish Bishopric, the See of which the commissioners recommended to be established at St. Columb. The third report contained their recommendations as to the reform of cathedrals, and made some valuable suggestions. Of these the principal were the following :—

(1.) *Constitution*.—Every dean and canon residentiary to reside *nine* months in the year.² The prebendaries of old foundations and the honorary canons of new to be styled canons ; such canons (not to be fewer than twelve) to be

¹ We learn from this report that the total revenue of the cathedrals for the year 1852 was £313,005 : 2s. Of this sum £108,695 was paid for repairs, stipends (exclusive of the chapters), payments to vicars of parishes and religious contributions ; £160,713 to members of capitular bodies.

² A protest against this was made by Dr. Wordsworth and Mr. Villiers.

appointed by the bishop, and together with bishop, dean, canons residentiary, and archdeacons, to form the greater chapter.¹ The canons non-residentiary to have the right of voting for election of bishop and chapter proctor; once a year the greater chapter, constituted as above, to be summoned by the bishop; the bishop also to have power to summon the greater chapter at other times when he thinks it expedient.

(2.) *Statutes*.—It is proposed to establish a body of commissioners to continue in office for ten years. Every cathedral body to recast their statutes within a year, fitting them to modern requirements, and to submit them to this body for approval. If the cathedral bodies refused to make new statutes, the commissioners to do it for them.

(3.) *Patronage of Canonries*.—The person appointing to a canonry to give a written statement of the qualifications or past services of the person appointed, which was to be preserved among the chapter records. Exchange of canonries to be made in order to give each bishop some canonry in his own cathedral. Retirement of deans and canons to be provided for. The canonries annexed to headships of colleges to be severed from such connection. Canonries also to be severed from archdeaconries, except where the cathedral is within the limits of the archdeaconry; and the archdeaconries so severed from canonries to be endowed by being connected with benefices sufficiently well endowed. The archdeacon, when a canon, to reckon the time spent in archidiaconal duties as residence, and not to undertake any office in the cathedral incompatible with his archidiaconal duties.

9. The recommendations proposed for *minor canons* or *vicars choral* were chiefly directed to the destruction of the ancient “corporations” of these members of the cathedral

¹ This was a departure from the idea of the cathedrals of the old foundation. In their statutes there is no distinction between canons residentiary and non-residentiary, all canons being capable of becoming residentiaries. The whole of the canons form the chapter. There is no such thing as *greater* or *lesser* chapters known to them. The archdeacons, if not canons, have no place in the chapter.

body which existed in many cathedrals. This was in accordance with the spirit of the time, which was hostile to complications and enamoured of symmetry. But it is a short-sighted policy to interfere with ancient rights with a view of meeting what are thought to be modern requirements, and to tamper with the picturesqueness and interest of mediæval institutions in order to obtain regularity and symmetry. With regard to *divine service* judicious recommendations were made. The choirs were to be strengthened. Two canons to be always in attendance, the dean or a canon to take some part in each service. Two sermons to be preached on the Sunday; the bishop to have ordinary jurisdiction over members of the capitular body, and to have the power of taking part in the services and preaching when he should think proper. The non-residentiary canons (whom the commissioners constantly put on a different footing from the residentiary canons, disregarding their ecclesiastical identity) are also to preach according to a cycle, and some remuneration is to be given them for this.

10. The *educational work* to be done by the cathedrals is to involve the keeping up in efficiency a grammar school, where this is part of the original foundation, providing a school for the choristers of the church, where they are to receive a "sound, religious, useful, and liberal education," in addition to their musical training, and an apprentice fee on their quitting the choir, except in the case of their receiving an exhibition to the university. They are also to have the privilege of admission to the grammar school as foundation boys. The recommendation as to theological colleges is merely general. It would be "advantageous to religion and learning" that a certain number be founded. This shows as much as anything the undeveloped character of the views of the commissioners as to cathedrals, which, both in their higher appointments and in their work and surroundings, ought to be in an especial manner schools of theology.

11. With regard to *capitular property*, the commissioners recommend that the salary of all deans be not less than £1500, of canons not less than £750; for the office of

precentor, when held by a minor canon, the modest sum of £50 is recommended, and the recipient is to be constantly resident. Regulations as to the transfer of the sums to be paid to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as to the preparing estimates and keeping accounts, and as to the management of property, are given. But the most important matter connected with capitular revenue was involved in the suggestion of the commissioners—made, indeed, with timid and faltering accents—that under certain circumstances the revenues and office of dean should be merged in that of bishop. “Reluctant as we are to recommend any course by which the strength of the cathedral bodies would be still further reduced,¹ we are of opinion that it may be desirable in certain cases, in which, by the division of a diocese, the diocesan labours of the bishop may be so far lightened, that the addition of the duties which would fall upon him when head of the chapter would be less than those of which he was relieved ; and in which a provision, which could not otherwise be found, might be made for a new bishopric, to allow the offices of bishop and dean to be held by the same person until the bishopric could be otherwise endowed.” This stumbling and halting sentence indicates only too clearly the confusion which was in the mind of the commissioners as to ecclesiastical matters. Happily the danger indicated by it has long passed away.

12. The commissioners report unfavourably as to the appointment of a “second class of bishops inferior in point of social position to the present.”² They discourage the appointment of bishops suffragan, the Act, as they allege, having become obsolete, but recommend the appointment of coadjutor bishops, *cum jure successionis*, where the bishop

¹ Already sixty canonries had been suspended as far as regarded their revenues.

² On July 17, 1856, Mr. Gladstone moved for an Act of Parliament to sanction the appointment of bishops who should not have a seat in Parliament, their incomes to be made up by £1500 a year raised from voluntary contributions (one half by persons having property in the new dioceses), and £1500 from Ecclesiastical Commissioners. This proposition was negatived.

is aged and infirm, and is willing to surrender a part of his revenues. They, however, strongly recommend the formation of new Sees, and append a schedule of the Sees thus recommended to be formed.

- (1.) From the diocese of Durham, a See at Newcastle.
- (2.) From Chester, at Liverpool.
- (3.) For Central Wales, at Brecon.
- (4.) From Lichfield, at Derby.
- (5.) From Lincoln for county of Notts, at Southwell.
- (6.) From Ely and Norwich for the county of Suffolk, at Ipswich.
- (7.) To restore the ancient See of Bristol.
- (8.) From Rochester, at Chelmsford or Colchester.
- (9.) From Exeter for the county of Cornwall, at St. Columb.
- (10.) From London, at Westminster.

The funds for the new dioceses were to be supplied by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (except in those cases where a deanery could be made available) and the executive commission, the establishment of which for ten years was recommended in the report, in conjunction with the several chapters, was to carry into effect the regulations, the commissioners fully recognising the great differences in the circumstances of the different dioceses.

13. That, if we except the fantastic project about the deans, there was much in this report valuable and useful to the Church can scarcely be doubted; but it was its fate, like that of so many others, to be thrust aside unheeded—a course which has been taken so often that now the appointment of a royal commission to investigate a subject seems almost equivalent to consigning it to absolute oblivion.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

RELATIVE NUMBERS OF CHURCH PEOPLE AND DIS- SENTERS.	Churchmen.	Dissenters.
Army, ⁴ . . .	63	37
Navy, ⁵ . . .	75	25
Workhouse, ⁶ .	79	21

A paper printed in 1880 gives the following as the relative proportions of Church people to Dissenters at that date. Out of every 100—

	Churchmen.	Dissenters.
School returns, ¹	72	28
Cemetery, ² . .	70	30
Marriages, ³ .	75	25

Giving an average of 72 per cent to the Church and 28 per cent to Dissenters. The whole population of England and Wales in 1878 was 24,854,397; Church population at 72 per cent, 17,995,159; Nonconformists (including Roman Catholics), 6,859,238.

¹ "Report of Education Department, 1871," c. 406.

² Burials, Session 1860, "Parliamentary Paper," 560.

³ "Registrar-General's Report, 1873."

⁴ "Army Parliamentary Paper," No. 170.

⁵ "Navy Parliamentary Paper," No. 182.

⁶ "Union Workhouse Paper," No. 157, Session 1876.

CHAPTER XX.

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS

1860-1864

1. Free-thinking reaction from the Tractarian movement. 2. Essays and reviews—Dr. Temple's essay. 3. Dr. Williams's essay—Mr. Rose's reply. 4. Mr. Baden-Powell's essay. 5. Mr. Wilson's essay—Mr. Joyce's reply. 6. Mr. Goodwin's essay. 7. Mr. Pattison's essay. 8. Mr. Jowett's essay. 9. Indignation excited by the book. 10. Address of the clergy to the Primate—Discussion by the bishops. 11. Reply of the bishops. 12. Discussion in the Convocation of Canterbury. 13. Feeble action of the Convocation. 14. The suits in the Arches Court. 15. The Judicial Committee reverse the decisions. 16. The Oxford declaration. 17. The book synodically condemned. 18. The attack in the House of Lords.

1. THE great theological movement at Oxford had, after the secession of Mr. Newman in 1845, assumed many new phases. The original *via media*, or Anglo-Catholic school, had received some rude shocks. A constant stream of discontented or ardent spirits had found their way into the tempting haven of Rome. Others of great powers, disappointed and vexed with what they held to be the failure of the extreme opinions they had embraced, went through a reaction against dogmatic belief altogether. Thus the English Church seemed to be exposed to dangers and attacks on every side. Some of her most honoured and distinguished sons had joined the ranks of her great opponent—as was done by Archdeacon Manning in 1850, and by Archdeacon R. J. Wilberforce in 1854. Others quitted their position of faithful disciples of Church doctrine to lead assaults against it. The "Nemesis of faith" came to be a common expression, and represented a process going on in the minds of many. They loved to represent themselves as having been entrapped, befooled, and beguiled by

strong influences, but that now they had come to their senses, and resented their former subjection.¹ Thus a free-thinking and sceptical school was set up in the universities, especially in Oxford; Cambridge, not having been much affected by the tract theology. Men had overshot the mark, had lost their way, and were now wandering about in perplexity. While what was valuable in the tract movement had been absorbed into the system of the practical working Church, those who had helped to produce it in many cases failed to profit by it, and, instead of finding comfort in the reviving energies of the Church of their baptism, were either seeking to fathom the strange mysteries of an alien system, or perplexing themselves with the misty imaginings of the Germans.

2. An outcome of this sceptical school and spirit of free handling² was a remarkable volume which appeared early in 1860 under the name of *Essays and Reviews*. Seven able writers, six of whom were clergymen, so far agreed together as to publish their essays in a common volume, though, as it was alleged, with no other correspondence and principle of identity than this. In the short preface to the book it is announced that the "authors are responsible for their respective essays only. They have written in entire independence of one another, and without concert or comparison." It was fortunate that this announcement was made, for some of the essays contained matter so startling, and apparently so irreconcilable with the doctrines of the Church of England, or with any system

¹ See the *Memoirs of the Rev. Mark Pattison*, rector of Lincoln College.

² The Bishop of Oxford in his preface to the *Replies* condemns this view very strongly. "It is none other than a very narrow philosophy which would conceive of them (*Essays and Reviews*) as a mere reaction from recently renewed assertions of the pre-eminent importance of dogmatic truth and of primitive Christian practice, or even from the excesses and evils which have, as they always do, attended on and disfigured the revival of the truth." The rise of this school has been more generally attributed to the influence of Dr. Arnold; but Dr. Arnold, though a great iconoclast, and by nature impetuous and incisive, was not one to dally with scepticism. He was a sincere, even ardent, believer. See *Essays and Reviews Considered*, H. A. Woodgate, p. 28 sq.

of dogmatic theology, that had a joint responsibility been avowed a serious stigma would have attached to all the writers alike. As it was this was by no means the case. The first essay, by Dr. Temple, on the "Education of the World," was an able and striking composition, showing indeed no great predilection for dogmatic theology, but not fairly chargeable with heresy or any attack on Revelation. The worst that could be said of it was that it was imaginative and fanciful; that the progress in the education of the world existed only in the writer's own conceptions; that as a matter of fact the earlier Romans were better than the later Romans, the earlier Jews than the later Jews, the earlier Christians than the later Christians; that there has been neither a moral progress, nor a progress in philosophy; as no moral philosopher of to-day has excelled Socrates, and in fact that no progression is to be traced in anything but the arts of civilised life, and the external polish of society.¹

3. The object of the second essay, by Dr. Rowland Williams, was to exhibit the destructive criticism of Baron Bunsen on the books of the Old Testament. Bunsen was a man of great abilities and of a religious spirit,² but of an overweening self-confidence. He accepted the vague theories which were flying about in Germany in his time in the matter of Biblical research (but which have since for the most part been abandoned), and enunciated them in a confident tone, as though they had been established by proof. Dr. Williams reproduces these speculations in a jaunty style, not always professing his agreement with them, but describing them as "suggestive" or "well worth consideration." He would thus seem to be recommending a greater amount of scepticism to others even than what he was inclined to adopt himself. He does not write as an

¹ See the able reply of Dr. Goulburn in *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 22.

² "After denying the genuineness of half the books in the Bible, and treating a large portion of its history as mere idle tales or legendary myths, Baron Bunsen, to the very end of his life, had a great love for devotional hymns framed upon a very different hypothesis, and addressed to a very different state of mind."—H. J. Rose, "Reply," p. 65.

unbeliever in the divine character of the Old Testament, but as an advocate for some strange interpretation of it, differing from all recognised interpretations and difficult for the ordinary mind to apprehend. It was unfortunate for the reputation of Dr. Williams that he met with an answerer to his essay, who knew far more of German theology than he himself did, and who quietly and calmly exposed his misstatements, and also, which was more extraordinary, his unfair treatment of the English writers whom he had quoted. "In the representation of Bishop Chandler, Dr. Paley, and Bishop Butler, the author of this essay may be said to have misrepresented every one of them, and to have interwoven his misrepresentations together into a statement, which it would be difficult to parallel for its contempt of truth."¹ Nearly the same might be said as to this writer's treatment of the Fathers.

4. In the third essay Mr. Baden-Powell discussed the external evidences of Christianity with the design apparently of showing their worthlessness. But the principal part of the essay is occupied with the credibility of miracles. In his view miracles are antecedently incredible on account of the immutable character of natural laws, but with a strange inconsistency he would allow some miraculous facts to be true in a "spiritualised" sense and "for the sake of the doctrine inculcated." "It is impossible," writes Archdeacon Lee in one of the answers to this essay, "to maintain this distinction. In the Christian revelation the *fact* of the Resurrection is the cardinal doctrine; the doctrine of the Incarnation is the fundamental fact. The facts and the ideas which the truths of Christianity embody must stand or fall together." It may be observed of this essay, as of the last, that it suggests a great deal more than it asserts; and this, which is rather the characteristic of the book, was no doubt one chief cause why so much anger was excited against it, and so many bitter reproaches directed against the writers. It seemed intolerable for a body of men, six of whom were Christian teachers, to launch into the world by a sort of common action a whole array of crude speculations, not all of which they themselves

¹ Mr. Rose's "Reply," p. 83.

were willing to adopt, but which seemed to be raked together from all quarters for the purpose of unsettling faith.

5. The fourth essay, by Mr. H. B. Wilson, on the National Church, is written in such a way that it is most difficult to catch its drift, except in the apparent desire of the author to show his contempt for all received opinions and accepted creeds. Here too, as in the former essays, may be observed "a reserved and cautious mode of stating propositions, and an exercise of art in maintaining opinions, which render it somewhat doubtful whether they are really those of the writer, or only such as may be held by others."¹ After careful weighing, and considering the ambiguous utterances of the oracle, perhaps the following fairly expresses the objects aimed at in this essay:—

(1.) To commend the ideological method of interpretation for the explanation of Scripture.

(2.) To show that the principle of doctrinal limitation is at variance with the true principle of a multitudinist Church.

(3.) To recommend a relaxation of the present form of subscription to the formularies of the English Church required from her clergy.

This essay was admirably answered among others by the Rev. Wayland Joyce, who in a tone of refined irony exposed its extraordinary statements.

6. The fifth essay is on the Mosaic cosmogony, a subject on which so much has been said and so much light has been thrown since the days of the writer, that it seems unnecessary to produce his views. It has been said of this writer—"Of all the writers in the book *Essays and Reviews* Mr. Goodwin is the most candid. Other writers contradict the revealed Word with at least a semblance of regret. Not thus does our critic contradict the inspired prophet Moses. His mission is to prove him incorrect, and this he attempts to do with the utmost straightforwardness."² So long as, in order to do this, it is assumed that Moses undertakes in Genesis to give a scientific account of creation, so long will such tasks as that which Mr. Goodwin sets himself to perform be sufficiently easy. But if it be the case

¹ Mr. Joyce's "Reply," p. 2.

² Mr. Main in *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 510.

that this is to take a fundamentally false view of the Mosaic writings, then Mr. Goodwin's essay will be found to have no special importance.

7. The sixth essay is a literary review by Mr. Pattison of "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1720." It must have been a considerable difficulty to the ingenious writer to find a title which should suit this chapter of discursive lucubrations. There is no thread of argument or sustained purpose through this essay. It abounds in repetitions, and is a vehicle for innumerable quotations, showing a great extent of reading, but no fixed opinions—rather, indeed, indicating a universal scepticism. It was well said in his reply by Mr. Haddan—"To guide us through the maze of religious pretence by which we are now surrounded is the practical use suggested of the picture here drawn of our antecedents. We are to learn our present bearings by tracing the mental route that has actually brought us where we are—no doubt the true use, or one of them, of the study of Church history. But the essay leaves us, nevertheless, to frame our conclusions for ourselves."¹ This essay, indeed, has many of those characteristics of the whole collection which make it so difficult to believe in the alleged absence of concert between the writers—"Simply stirring up with an assumption of intellectual and moral superiority almost every topic of current scepticism, while dealing seriously with no one in the list."² To publish such crudities was something which not even the desire to "accommodate a bookseller" could justify. Mr. Pattison's essay is by no means free from startling statements, and in many cases his criticism is eminently unfair. The best which could be said of it, perhaps, was that it was not so likely to work mischief as most of the others, inasmuch as it would be less read, and less understood.

8. The writer of the seventh essay, Mr. Jowett, of Balliol, seems to have been a little uneasy at the task which he had undertaken of parading and exaggerating the difficulties and apparent discrepancies of Scripture. "It is probable," he says, "that some of the preceding statements may be censured as a wanton exposure of the difficulties of

¹ *Replies*, p. 357.

² *Ib.* p. 347.

Scripture. It will be said that such inquiries are for the few, while the printed page lies open to the many, and that the obtrusion of them may offend some weaker brother, some half-educated or prejudiced soul 'for whom,' nevertheless, in the touching language of St. Paul, 'Christ died.'"¹ There is, however, in this essay much that is valuable, and some things that are beautiful. The tone of it contrasts favourably with the five which precede it, and is similar to that of the first, only the praise which is conceded to its spirit must be detracted from its reasonableness. The author welcomes with a touching and eager candour all the old, trivial, and oft-refuted objections against the Scriptures; and while acknowledging the "inexhaustible or infinite character of the sacred writings,"² yet claims to interpret them like other books, which are neither inexhaustible nor infinite.

9. The publication of this work was regarded by Churchmen and by Christians generally, not so much as being a danger to the faith, as constituting a grievous offence on the part of the writers. It was thought that the essays might be refuted and answered easily enough, for there was no great power in any of them; but that the mischief done to those who would not read and weigh the answers might be infinite. And indignation was roused by the fact that this mischief was wrought by men pledged by every bond of honour and decency not to work it. Here was a band of well-dowered and well-placed Churchmen sitting easily in their studies, not doing any of the hard work of the Church, but enjoying its emoluments, and sending forth at their leisure, and without even fully accepting them themselves, every petulant doubt and difficulty which the ingenuity of various generations of scoffers had invented to disparage the Christian faith. Here were Christian divines, it was argued, putting a stumbling-block in the way of the less informed and unlearned members of their Church, which might easily lead to the absolute denial of the faith; and this quite gratuitously, there being no special call on any of them to publish their sentiments, and no adequate reason being even alleged why they should

¹ *Essays and Reviews*, p. 372 (8th Ed.)

² *Ib.* p. 380.

do so. Such thoughts stirred up men generally to anger against these writers, who were regarded as traitors to be punished, rather than as fair disputants to be answered.

10. Comparatively little attention seems to have been drawn to this work until the publication of an article in the *Westminster Review* in October 1860, in which the most startling statements of the essayists were set forth with approbation and high glee. The Bishop of Oxford then assailed them in the *Quarterly* for January 1861, and with so striking an effect that five editions of the *Review* were quickly exhausted.¹ Meantime the clergy generally had taken the alarm, and an address signed by 10,000 clergy was presented to the archbishop at Lambeth denouncing the book, and inquiring what steps the bishops were going to take. Upon this the Archbishop of Canterbury called a meeting of the bishops, at which both the archbishops and seventeen bishops were present.² A long and anxious discussion followed. The archbishop read the address and opened the subject. He was followed by the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London and others, and then by the Bishop of Salisbury, who with deep feeling explained his reasons for admitting Dr. Williams into his diocese. The Bishop of St. David's pointed out that a mere declaration by the bishops, unless followed by action, would be an admission "that we had no means of repressing prolate heresy." He strongly deprecated any discussion in Convocation. The archbishop was clearly of opinion that an answer must be given to the address, condemning the doctrine of the essays, pointing out the scandal arising from such a work being written by clergymen, but deprecating legal proceedings on account of their uncertainty. Bishop Hampden was in favour of taking legal proceedings. The Bishop of London was for a declaration of doctrine. The Bishop of Oxford was against a declaration of doctrine, as prejudging the cause; and it was finally agreed that an answer should be drawn up to the address, which should leave the question of the after proceedings open.³ The answer drawn up by the Bishop of Oxford ran as follows:—

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 2.

² February 1.

³ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 4.

11.

"LAMBETH, *February 12, 1861.*

"REVEREND SIR—I have taken the opportunity of meeting many of my episcopal brethren in London to lay your address before them. They unanimously agree with me in expressing the pain it has given them that any clergyman of our Church should have published such opinions as those concerning which you have addressed us. We cannot understand how these opinions can be held consistently with an honest subscription to the formularies of our Church, with many of the fundamental doctrines of which they appear to be essentially at variance. Whether the language in which these views are expressed is such as to make their publication an act which could be visited in the ecclesiastical courts, or to justify the synodical condemnation of the book which contains them, is still under our gravest consideration. But our main hope is our reliance on the blessing of God, in the continued and increasing earnestness with which we trust that we and the clergy of our several dioceses may be enabled to teach and preach that good deposit of sound doctrine which our Church teaches in its fulness, and which we pray that she may, through God's grace, ever set forth as the uncorrupted Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.—I remain, reverend Sir, your faithful servant,

J. B. CANTUAR.

"To the Rev. H. B. WILLIAMS.

"I am authorised to append the following names."

[Here follow the signatures of the Archbishop of York and twenty-four bishops.]¹

12. This was a somewhat feeble document considering the gravity of the occasion, and it certainly did not satisfy Churchmen. In the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury on February 26, 1861, Canon Jelf moved for an address to his Grace the president, and their lordships the bishops, on the subject of a volume lately published entitled *Essays and Reviews*, praying the bishops to give their attention to the book with a view of taking synodical action thereon. There was a considerable

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 4.

opposition to this, and the "previous question" was moved. After a debate this was withdrawn, as well as Canon Jelf's resolution; and on the motion of Archdeacon Wordsworth, seconded by Archdeacon Denison, it was resolved—"That the clergy of the Lower House of Convocation of the province of Canterbury, having regard to the censure which has been already pronounced¹ and published by the archbishops and bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York on certain opinions contained in a book called *Essays and Reviews*, entertain an earnest hope that under the divine blessing, the faithful zeal of the Christian Church in this land may be able to counteract the pernicious influence of the erroneous opinions contained in this volume." This was perhaps even more feeble and unsatisfactory than the bishops' words. "I was wholly dissatisfied with it," says its seconder, "and thought it very unworthy of the occasion."² So dissatisfied was the archdeacon that on the Sessions of March 14 he presented a gravamen signed by himself and others, in which they declare that in their belief the statements in the book contain doctrines "subversive of the inspiration and authority of Holy Scripture, and in other respects also contrary to the Liturgy and Articles of the Church of England," and praying for the appointment of a committee to formulate the case against the book. This gravamen being carried to the Upper House, the Bishop of Oxford moved that the president should be requested to grant the prayer and appoint a committee. The Bishop of St. David's strongly supported this, and it was carried. A committee of the Lower House was appointed, Archdeacon Denison being chairman.³

13. In preparation for the committee the archdeacon made a careful analysis of the volume, "showing the logical connection of thought and order of number one with the other six, and dealing with each in succession." The committee were not prepared to adopt this draft (which the

¹ The bishop's reply really contained no censure. It merely said that the statements in the book *seemed* and *appeared* to be at variance with the formularies of the Church.

² *Notes of my Life*, by Archdeacon Denison, p. 290.

³ *Ib.* p. 292.

archdeacon afterwards published), but after a long and careful examination of the book they agreed to a report which was presented to the Lower House, June 18, 1861. Upon its presentation it was moved by the chairman "that, in the opinion of this House, there are sufficient grounds for proceeding to a synodical judgment upon the book entitled *Essays and Reviews*." Great opposition was manifested. The debate was adjourned to June 20, and at last the resolution was carried in a House of only forty members by thirty-one to eight. Most Churchmen will be ready to agree with the chairman of the committee in the severe censure which he passed upon those members of Convocation who showed either their indifference or their indecision by abstaining from being present. But worse was in store for the report in the Upper House. It was resolved by the bishops without discussion that, inasmuch as a suit had been commenced against one of the writers, in which the president and other of the bishops might be called upon to judge, it was inexpedient "either to proceed with the consideration of this subject in the absence of the president, and such members of this House, or to embarrass them as hereafter sitting as judges in the pending suit, by their having joined in a synodical condemnation of the book,"—that therefore the subject had better be adjourned until after the consideration of the suit. Responsibility was thus dexterously evaded, but what did the faithful souls who were vexed by these utterances think of the delay?¹

14. Suits had in effect been commenced against two of the essayists, viz. against the Rev. Rowland Williams, rector of Broad Chalk, in the diocese of Salisbury, by the bishop of that See, and against the Rev. H. B. Wilson, vicar of Great Haughton, in the diocese of Ely, by the Rev. James Fendall. Both suits came before the Arches Court by letters of request at the instance of the bishops of Salisbury and Ely, being instituted under the Church Discipline Act, 3 and 4 Vict., c. 86. Articles were exhibited against Dr. Williams to the number of twenty-two,

¹ It is proper to observe that Bishop Wilberforce was strongly opposed to this procrastination. See his letter to the Bishop of Llandaff.—*Life*, iii. 7.

and against Mr. Wilson nineteen, containing passages from the defendants' essays contrasted with the articles of the Church of England. A tedious argument ensued before the judge of the Arches Court as to the admissibility of the various articles. Finally he rejected all the articles in each case except three, which he ordered to be reformed. This being done, and the allowed articles brought in again, sentence was given by the judge (Dr. Lushington) on December 15, 1862. He declared the articles of accusation proved, suspended each of the defendants from his benefice for a year, and condemned them in costs. An appeal from this sentence to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was immediately lodged.

15. Both Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson advocated their appeals in person, and with great skill. On the other side counsel appeared for the respondents. The Court consisted of the Lord Chancellor (Westbury), the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Longley), the Archbishop of York (Dr. Thomson), the Bishop of London (Dr. Tait), Lord Cranworth, Lord Chelmsford, and Lord Kingsdown. The absurdity of trying a question of heretical doctrine before such a Court, and under such a statute as the Church Discipline Act, was soon apparent. Their lordships ruled that, the proceedings being penal, a verbal contradiction between the impugned statements and the articles and formularies must be established—that the spirit, scope, and objects of the essays went for nothing. “On the design and general tendency of the book called *Essays and Reviews*, and the effect and aim of the whole essay of Dr. Williams, and the whole essay of Mr. Wilson, we neither can nor do pronounce any opinion.”¹ The required technical contradiction they held not to be established, and in consequence they reversed the judgment of the Court below and acquitted the appellants² (February 8, 1864).

16. General indignation was felt throughout the Church at the transparent absurdity of this sentence. A committee at Oxford drew up a declaration, contravening in substance the effect of the decision and questioning its validity.

¹ Brooke's *Privy Council Judgments*, p. 102.

² The archbishops of Canterbury and York did not concur.

This document, which obtained the signatures of 11,000 clergymen, ran as follows :—" We, the undersigned presbyters and deacons in holy orders of the Church of England and Ireland, hold it to be our bounden duty to the Church, and to the souls of men, to declare our firm belief that the Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church, maintains without reserve or qualification the inspiration and divine authority of the whole canonical Scriptures, as not only containing, but being the Word of God ; and further teaches in the words of our blessed Lord that the 'punishment' of the 'cursed' equally with 'the life' of the 'righteous' is everlasting." The subject was also revived again in the Convocation of Canterbury, and important results followed.

17. On April 19, 1864, the Bishop of Oxford presented a petition praying the Upper House to proceed to judgment, and moved—" That this House take into consideration the message of the Lower House, June 21, 1861, for the purpose of considering whether the House shall accede to the prayer of the petition." The next day he presented another like petition from members of the Church of England, lay and clerical. On the same day Archdeacon Denison presented a gravamen, which he desired should be made an *articulus cleri* (that is, be adopted by the whole House), praying that the injury done to the Church by the delay of synodical judgment might be repaired by proceeding to such judgment. The gravamen was not adopted as the general petition of the House, but was taken up to the bishops signed by forty members. Upon this the Bishop of Oxford moved that the House should "resume the consideration of the subject," which had been broken off for the termination of the suit. This was only carried by the casting vote of the president. It has been said with great truth : "The Church of England has indeed great cause to be thankful for the presidency which gave the casting vote ; thankful to Almighty God for overruling the attempt to stultify Church authority, to make the Church the slavish instrument of an indifferent civil power, to render unto Cæsar the things of God."¹ On June 21 the report of

¹ *Notes of my Life*, p. 308.

the Upper House was presented. After a debate it was moved by the Bishop of Oxford—"That the Upper House of Convocation, having received and adopted the report of the committee of the whole House appointed by them to examine the volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*, invite the Lower House to concur with them in the following judgment: 'That this synod, having appointed committees of the Upper and Lower House to examine and report upon the volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*, and the said committees having severally reported thereon, doth hereby synodically condemn the said volume as containing teaching contrary to the doctrine received by the united Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ.' " This, having been carried in the Upper House, was sent down to the Lower House for their concurrence, and was accepted by the presbyters, after a three-days' debate, by a majority of thirty-nine to nineteen.

18. It was not to be expected that such a fact as the decided condemnation of a book by the synod of the province would pass without notice and attack by those who favoured free-thinking and Latitudinarian views in religion. Accordingly a set attack was made on the Convocation in the House of Lords. The peer who made the attack was Lord Houghton, a peer famed for his literary tastes. He desired to know whether the Government were going to take any steps in the matter. The Lord Chancellor (Westbury) said that they had no such intention, and then, unfortunately for his own reputation, went on to criticise the judgment. He endeavoured to prove it illegal, though the archbishop had in his pocket the opinions of two leading counsel that it was perfectly legal, and then, angered and exasperated, he made a most violent personal attack upon the Bishop of Oxford. The bishop, ever ready, and always able to say the right thing in the right way, retorted with a rebuke which brought down the cheers of the House, and was absolutely crushing.¹ The unfortunate lawyer, who was soon afterwards disgraced and obliged to quit office, did much good to the cause of orthodoxy by his hasty and sneering words, and enabled the bishop to say

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 140 sq.

that he had received assurances from many quarters of the good effects of the judgment "of minds quieted, permitting men to go again about their ordinary duties without being stirred up by the feeling that the Church was resting under an imputation of having allowed to pass uncontradicted false doctrine promulgated by her teachers."¹

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 142.

CHAPTER XXI

BISHOP COLENZO

1853-1869

1. Subdivision of the diocese of Capetown—Consecration of Dr. Colenso to Natal. 2. Promising commencement of his episcopate. 3. He begins to publish heretical opinions. 4. Publication of the work on the Pentateuch—Meeting of the bishops. 5. Letter of forty-one bishops to Bishop Colenso calling on him to resign. 6. Action of the Convocation of Canterbury. 7. Trial at the Cape. 8. Bishop Colenso deposed from the See of Natal. 9. The appeal to the Privy Council. 10. The judgment—Value of it to the Colonial Church. 11. Reception of the deposition of Bishop Colenso. 12. Dr. Colenso excommunicated by the Bishop of Capetown. 13. The opinion of the Convocation of Canterbury. 14. The question before the Lambeth Conference. 15. A successor chosen to Dr. Colenso. 16. The Convocation of Canterbury recognise the validity of the acts of the Bishop of Capetown. 17. Consecration of Bishop Macrorie. 18. Death and character of Bishop Gray.

1. THE energy displayed by Bishop Gray in the diocese of Capetown soon led to a subdivision of the enormous tract of country under his superintendence. In 1853 the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal were founded, and to the latter was appointed the Rev. J. W. Colenso, a man who had held a distinguished position at Cambridge, and who was well known for his talent and energy. The See was offered to him by Bishop Gray, who had been for some time in England, engaged in ceaseless work for his diocese, on the recommendation of Dr. Hills, vicar of Great Yarmouth. Mr. Colenso was living in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth, and was very zealous in the missionary cause. Dr. Hinds, the Bishop of Norwich, joined warmly in the recommendation. Mr. Armstrong was appointed to Grahamstown, and the two prelates were consecrated on St. Andrew's Day, 1853, at Lambeth by the

bishops of Oxford and Capetown and others.¹ Bishop Gray wrote, "The great object of my mission to England has been accomplished, and the diocese is subdivided, able and devoted men appointed to the new Sees, sufficient funds raised to maintain our existing work for another five years, and to enlarge our operations among the heathen. More, far more than I had dared to hope, has been accomplished. The Church will now, I think, fix her roots deep in South Africa. Now there are three centres of unity; three central springs and sources of vigorous action; three bishops to bring before the Church the claims and necessities of the perishing heathen of these vast and interesting countries."²

2. The happy anticipations thus indulged in seemed at first likely to be realised. Bishop Colenso gave himself to his work with great energy. In 1855 he had established three missionary stations, on which the natives were allowed to settle, and in daily contact with English teachers might imbibe both civilisation and Christianity; he had also founded two lesser missions to the heathen. With great energy he applied himself to the study of the language, and compiled a Zulu dictionary. He had fellow-labourers of unusual gifts. One was Archdeacon Mackenzie, who was head of a large training institution; another the Rev. R. Robertson, who has since made himself a great reputation as a missionary; a third, Dr. Callaway, who as missionary, physician, farmer, and philologist, has done important work. The missions in Zululand were so promising and attractive that Bishop Colenso wished to give up his residence and his work in the colony, and to superintend them in person.³

3. But with the energy of this bishop was joined a rash and daring spirit which soon began to threaten trouble. In 1856 Bishop Gray writes: "The Bishop of Natal has got into great trouble. (1.) By bringing out too many not over well-chosen labourers to a work scarce begun. (2.) By mistaking the extent of a bishop's power, altering services, omitting portions of the Liturgy, *e.g.* psalms, lessons,

¹ *Life of Bishop Gray*, i. 371.

² *Ib.* i. 372.

³ *Under His Banner* (Rev. W. J. Tucker), p. 133.

litany ; and introducing others, *e.g.* a new offertory and prayer for Church militant, a prayer for heathen, etc.—in fact, acting as the sole legislator of the Church. (3.) By giving way as soon as opposition met him. Matters are in a great mess just now, and it is difficult to advise usefully. He has startled people by the rapidity of his conclusions (polygamy amongst the number, with reference to the baptism of the heathen with more wives than one, upon which he has written a pamphlet) and shaken confidence. They ask what next? If he will only learn caution and deliberation this will do no harm. His fine, generous, and noble character will triumph over all difficulties.”¹ The difficulties seem to have been surmounted, and all went well for some time. On the Feast of the Circumcision (1861) Bishop Colenso joined with Bishop Claughton of St. Helena, and Bishop Gray, now the Metropolitan of South Africa,² in consecrating Bishop Mackenzie to the mission on the Zambesi, which will be spoken of in another place. Bishop Gray, however, was suspicious of what was coming. He writes: “The Bishop of Natal is a very wilful, headstrong man, and loose, I fear, in his opinions on vital points. We shall have to fight for revelation, inspiration, the atonement, and every great truth of Christianity ere long.” And again, “I am very anxious about Natal. His views are dangerous. I fear that we may have taught in Africa ‘another Gospel which is not another.’”³ In June (1861) the Bishop of Natal published a new translation and exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, which Bishop Gray considered to contain many heretical statements, and he entreated the author to withdraw it, but in vain. The book causing great excitement in the colony, the Bishop of

¹ *Life of Bishop Gray*, i. 395.

² In 1853 Bishop Gray resigned his See in order to the division of the diocese. The new dioceses being formed he was re-appointed by letters patent, which also gave him the dignity of Metropolitan. Previously to this the Crown had given a constitution to the colony and representative institutions had been founded. It was afterwards contended that under these circumstances the letters patent were worthless, and this contention was ultimately established.

³ *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 20, 21.

Capetown wrote to the Bishop of Oxford and the Archbishop of Canterbury for advice as to how he should act. The importance of this matter and other pressing affairs took Bishop Gray to England in the spring of 1862, and he was quickly followed by Bishop Colenso, who had written, and was about to publish in England, another book, *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined*, Part I. Before they arrived the English bishops had had a meeting on the information conveyed by the Bishop of Capetown's letters, and had considered Bishop Colenso's *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*. All, except London and St. David's, agreed that they should request the suppression of the book, and that failing this, they should request the bishop not to officiate in their dioceses on his arrival in England.¹

4. The publication of the first part of the work on the Pentateuch was speedily followed by that of the second (January 1863), in which the bishop makes the most violent charges against the clergy, accusing them of dishonesty in upholding the doctrines of the Church and teaching "transparent fictions." The writer treats the whole of the narrative of the Pentateuch in the freest possible way, endeavouring to show that a great part of it is utterly unhistorical and absurd. Men were absolutely paralysed by the boldness of the attack and by the fact that the writer was a bishop, who had not signified any intention of resigning his office, but appeared to think that this "free handling" was quite consistent with his sacred character. Addresses soon began to pour in to the English bishops from the clergy and laity. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel applied to its president to know how to act. Was it to continue to pay large sums into the hands of one who was practically an unbeliever? And ought it to re-elect him as one of its vice-presidents? The archbishop called a meeting of the bishops at the Bounty Office (February 4, 1863), at which twenty-seven prelates were present. A long discussion followed. All condemned the books, but some of the prelates showed great feebleness and timidity as to the proposal to deal with them. At length after much argu-

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 114.

ment it was agreed, "That having regard to the grievous scandal to the Church occasioned by certain books published under the name of the Bishop of Natal, and not disavowed by him, we, the undersigned, express our own resolution not to allow the said bishop to minister in the Word or Sacraments within our several dioceses until the said bishop shall have cleared himself from such scandal." Another meeting of the bishops (February 7) was principally remarkable for some severe attacks made by the Bishop of London (Tait) on the Bishop of Capetown, and for an eloquent speech of the Bishop of Oxford, which disposed of some of the petty carpings and quibbles in which some of the bishops indulged. A few days later the bishops met again. A committee had been appointed to draw up a letter which all the bishops might sign, and after various alterations the following was agreed upon and signed by forty-one prelates, English, Irish, and Colonial:—

5. To the Right Rev. J. W. COLENSO, D.D.,
Lord Bishop of Natal.

"We, the undersigned archbishops and bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, address you with deep brotherly anxiety, as one who shares with us the grave responsibilities of the episcopal office.

"It is impossible for us to enter here into argument with you as to your method of handling that Bible which we believe to be the Word of God, and on the truth of which rest all our hopes for eternity. Nor do we here raise the question whether you are legally entitled to retain your present office and position in the Church; complicated, moreover, as that question is by the fact of your being a bishop of the Church in South Africa, now at a distance from your diocese and province.

"But we feel bound to put before you another view of the case. We understand you to say (Part II. p. 23, of your *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*) that you do not now believe that which you voluntarily professed to believe as the indispensable condition of your being entrusted with your present office. We understand you also to say that you have entertained and have not abandoned

the conviction that you could not use the ordination service, inasmuch as in it you 'must require from others a solemn declaration that they unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament,' which, with the evidence now before you, 'it is impossible wholly to believe in' (Part I. p. 12). And we understand you further to intimate that those who think with you are precluded from using the baptismal service, and consequently (as we must infer) other offices of the Prayer Book, unless they omit all such passages as assume the truth of the Mosaic history (Part II. p. 22). Now it cannot have escaped you that the inconsistency between the office you hold and the opinions you avow is causing great pain and grievous scandal to the Church. And we solemnly ask you to consider once more with the most serious attention, whether you can, without harm to your own conscience, retain your position, when you can no longer discharge its duties, or use the formularies to which you have subscribed. We will not abandon the hope that through earnest prayer and deeper study of God's Word you may, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, be restored to a state of belief in which you may be able with a clear conscience again to discharge the duties of your sacred office, a result which, from regard to your highest interests, we should welcome with unfeigned satisfaction. We are your faithful brethren in Christ," etc.

6. Bishop Colenso's answer to this grave epistle was returned without delay. He altogether declined to accede to the proposal of the bishops. He affected to think that they were asking him to resign his office, not his diocese; and he complained of want of sympathy and harsh treatment by his brethren. Meantime the matter came prominently forward in the Convocation of Canterbury. On February 11 Archdeacon Denison presented a petition signed by 101 clergy of his archdeaconry praying that inquiry might be made concerning the book on the Pentateuch, and that Convocation might deliver synodical judgment thereon; and moved for a petition to the Upper House for the appointment of a committee. The motion was carried by a large majority, and the Upper House, after

a division in which *five* bishops only voted, consented to the appointment of the committee. The report of the committee was sent to the Upper House, May 19. On May 20 their lordships agreed, after having considered the report of the committee, that the book on the Penta-teuch "involved errors of the gravest and most dangerous character, subversive of faith in the Bible as the Word of God," but inasmuch as they believed that the book would shortly be submitted to the judgment of an Ecclesiastical Court, they declined at this time to take further action in the matter. This seemed to many to be deplorably weak. "I regretted the second resolution," says Archdeacon Denison, "on every ground more than I can express."¹ Two bishops (London and St. David's), though they both condemned the book, were determinedly opposed to all proceedings against it.

7. The Bishop of Capetown returned to his diocese in April (1863), fully determined to bring the matter at once to a trial, and to shrink from no steps which the crisis seemed to require. Immediately on his arrival a presentment was made to him by the Dean of Capetown, the Archdeacons of Grahamstown and George, charging Bishop Colenso with publishing doctrine opposed to the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, and setting forth particulars of the charge in nine schedules. The Bishop of Capetown then issued his summons to the Bishop of Natal to appear before him as Metropolitan at Capetown on November 17, and to answer these charges; and in default of his appearance he was informed that the charges would be proceeded with in his absence. Before the trial came on a decision in the case alluded to above (*Long v. Bishop of Capetown*) had been given, which ruled that the letters patent constituting the Bishop of Capetown Metropolitan, and giving him jurisdiction, were invalid; so that there was nothing now to go upon but the consensual jurisdiction, the Bishop of Natal having accepted and acknowledged the metropolitanical authority. The trial began on the day appointed, the bishops of Grahamstown and the Orange River Free State (Cotterill and Twells) being

¹ *Notes of my Life*, p. 304.

assessors to the Metropolitan. Bishop Colenso did not appear, but he sent a friend to protest against the proceedings, and to signify his intention, if necessary, of appealing from them.

8. The Dean of Capetown then proceeded to address the Court in support of the charges. He spoke very well and learnedly, and occupied the attention of the Court for two days. The two archdeacons also delivered weighty addresses. Archdeacon Merriman pointed out "that never since the foundation of Christendom, was any individual, heretic or false teacher, cited to appear on so wide and multifarious a field of erroneous doctrine as that with which it had been necessary to charge the Bishop of Natal." Archdeacon Badnall reminded the Court that he "appeared as the representative of every clergyman in the archdeaconry of George." The bishop presiding caused a letter from Bishop Colenso, which had been addressed to him in reply to his request that he would suppress his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, to be read. This letter had gone carefully into the defence of his statements, and it was consequently regarded in some sort as an answer to the charges now made, and as such was replied to by the Dean of Capetown. The Court then adjourned to consider the case, and on December 14 met to agree upon the sentence. The Bishop of Grahamstown (Dr. Cotterill), a very able and learned man, first delivered his judgment, setting forth with great clearness the errors of the accused, and declaring that Dr. Colenso, unless he should retract his errors, "cannot consistently with the laws of our Church retain any longer the office of Bishop of Natal." The Bishop of the Free State next gave it as his opinion that all the charges had been proved. December 16 was then appointed for the delivering of the sentence. The Bishop of Capetown, after setting forth the gravity of the case and its painful character, delivered an elaborate judgment on each of the charges made against Dr. Colenso; and having done so, went on to say, "It becomes, therefore, my painful duty, first, to declare that, convicted as he has been of false teaching on many grave and fundamental points, involving a wide and systematic departure from the faith,

he is unfit, so long as he shall persist in these errors, to bear rule in the Church of God, or to exercise any sacred offices whatever therein ; and next, to pass sentence accordingly. In this opinion, and in the sentence which I am about to give, my assessors entirely agree." Then followed the formal sentence of deposition from the See of Natal, and the prohibition from performing any divine office within the province. Opportunity for retractation or for appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury was given, and for that purpose the sentence was suspended till April 16, 1864.

9. Bishop Colenso's reply to this sentence was to address a letter to the Crown, which was referred to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, and considered by them, June 27, 1864. The letter prayed that her Majesty would be pleased to declare the petitioner entitled to hold his See, until the letters patent granted to him should be cancelled by due process of law for some sufficient cause of forfeiture, and to declare that the letters patent granted to the Bishop of Capetown, in so far as they purported to create a Court of Criminal Justice within the colony, and to give to the Archbishop of Canterbury an appellate jurisdiction, had been unduly obtained from her Majesty, and did not affect the petitioner's rights. He also prayed that the pretended trial and sentence might be declared to be of none effect, and that an inhibition, as was usual in ecclesiastical cases, should issue against proceedings under the sentence pending the appeal. The petition was ordered to stand over for six months. No inhibition was granted, as it was held that this would be a recognition of the Bishop of Capetown's authority. On December 14 (1864) the case of Bishop Colenso's appeal came on for hearing before the Privy Council. Bishop Gray, who was represented by very able counsel, appeared under protest, "denying with all due reverence that her Majesty in Council has any jurisdiction in the subject matter of the said petition, or that any appeal lies from what he has done in the matter of the said complainant either to her Majesty or to the Judicial Committee of her most honourable Privy Council." The counsel for Bishop Colenso made most unwarrantable

attacks upon Bishop Gray, and "advanced arguments alternately confirmatory, alternately subversive of their case."¹ In fact, they displayed either the greatest ignorance or the greatest malice. Judgment was, of course, reserved.

10. Judgment was given March 20, 1865. It was a great opportunity for Lord Westbury, the Chancellor, to parade his well-known bitter feeling against the Church. Of what value the dicta of the judgment were may be inferred from the first sentence. "The Bishop of Natal and the Bishop of Capetown are ecclesiastical persons who have been created bishops by the Queen in the exercise of her authority as sovereign of this realm, and head of the Established Church!" The purport of the judgment was to declare that the letters patent had no force, as the colony had previously to them received representative institutions; that there were, in fact, no bishops of Natal and Capetown known to the law, and in consequence no Metropolitan with any rights of judging. Having established this, the judgment goes on with marvellous inconsistency to interfere with the proceedings of these non-legal and purely voluntary bodies, and to declare the sentence of the Bishop of Capetown null and void. But while men wondered at this inconsistency, Churchmen began to reflect whether in effect the judgment were not of good omen for the Church. It seemed to set the Colonial Church free from being hampered with State restrictions. The Churches might now be at liberty to uphold discipline by consensual arrangements, and the domination of the Privy Council was at an end. The Bishop of Oxford writes: "I think Westbury's judgment, bristling with Erastian insults to the Church as it purposely is, is yet the charter of the freedom of the Colonial Church. So is the modern Achiophel overruled."² Dr. Pusey writes: "Friends and foes seem to be agreed about the importance of this last decision of the Privy Council. It must have effects far other, probably, than its acute authors were aware of. It looks at first sight as if it were producing chaos; yet to us who believe that the Spirit of God moveth upon the face of the

¹ *Guardian*.

² *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 126.

wild waters, it is but the chaos over which God says, 'Let there be light, and there was light.' The judgment dissolves all legal jurisdiction which was supposed to exist in the South African Church, but only to make an opening for divine order. It is no loss to us that it is discovered that the Queen had no power to give the temporal powers which the former legal advisers of the Crown thought she could. It is the Crown deciding against itself. It is no concern of ours which of the two sets of lawyers was right. The present advisers of her Majesty have limited her powers, and we may thank God for the limitation, and pardon gladly the gratuitous insolence of the Erastianism of the preamble for the results which, with no goodwill of Erastians, must result from it. The Church of South Africa, then, is free, and this freedom is far better than a temporal jurisdiction created by the State."¹

11. The energetic action of the Bishop of Capetown was well received on all hands in South Africa. The clergy of the diocese of Natal met on May 31 (1865), and came to the resolutions following, with only one dissenter:—(1.) That the spiritual power of the Bishop of Capetown was in no way affected by the late declaration of the Privy Council that the coercive powers conferred by his letters patent were null and void; that they do receive the most reverend father in God, Robert Gray, D.D., commonly called Bishop of Capetown, as their Metropolitan, and do and will render unto him obedience in the same degree and after the same manner as the priests and deacons of the Church of England in the ecclesiastical province of Canterbury are bound to obey the Archbishop of Canterbury, until such time as in a provincial synod the organisation of the Church of South Africa shall have been settled. (2.) That the above resolution be communicated by the dean to the Metropolitan and to the English archbishops, together with (3.) a declaration of clerical and lay members of the Church that they are satisfied of the justice of Dr. Colenso's degradation, and reject him as bishop."² In the Convocation of the province of Canterbury it was

¹ Dr. Pusey to *Churchman*, quoted *Bishop Gray's Life*, ii. 196.

² *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 210.

moved by the Bishop of Oxford that an address should be voted to the Primate as follows:—"We, the bishops of the province of Canterbury in Convocation, under her Majesty's most royal writ of summons, lawfully assembled, pray your Grace, as president of this synod and as Primate of all England and Metropolitan, to convey to the Lord Bishop of Capetown, appointed by her Majesty's letters patent Metropolitan of the province of South Africa, and to the bishops who assembled with him to try, under the powers purported to be conveyed by letters patent granted by the Crown, a bishop of the province accused before them of heresy, the expression of our hearty admiration of the courage, firmness, and devoted love of the Gospel as this Church has received the same, which has been manifested by him and them under most difficult and trying circumstances. We thank them for the noble stand they have made against heretical and false doctrine, and we trust that even out of the present difficulties and embarrassments with which they are surrounded, it may please God to provide some safeguard for the faith once committed to the saints." This address having been carried, and readily accepted by the archbishop, was sent down to the Lower House for its concurrence, which, after some opposition from the Dean of Westminster, it obtained. It was probably meant well, but it seems somewhat inadequate and clumsily worded. It does not accept and endorse the bishop's sentence. It even seems to imply that the trial was deficient in legal basis, as being held under powers "purporting to be conveyed by the letters patent."

12. Dr. Colenso returned to his late diocese on November 6 (1865), and after an unseemly struggle with the Dean of Maritzburg and the churchwardens, officiated in the cathedral. The Bishop of Capetown then wrote to him warning him that he should be driven to the last remedy—that of excommunication—if he persisted in claiming to exercise the office from which he had been deposed. Dr. Colenso replied by a virulent pamphlet. The comprovincial bishops, uniting in synod with the Metropolitan, declared Dr. Colenso to be *ipso facto* excommunicated. The American Convention and the Provincial

Synod of Canada conveyed to the Metropolitan their approval of his proceedings. Thus fortified, and seeing no hope of any change on the part of Dr. Colenso, the Bishop of Capetown at length authorised and directed the Dean of Maritzburg to read from the altar of the Cathedral Church the sentence following (January 5, 1866):—"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, we, Robert, by divine permission Metropolitan of the Church in the province of Capetown, in accordance with the decision of the bishops of the province in synod assembled, do hereby, it being our office and our grief to do so, by the authority of Christ committed unto us, pass upon John William Colenso, D.D., the sentence of the greater excommunication, thereby separating him from the communion of the Church of Christ, so long as he shall obstinately and impenitently persist in his heresy, and claim to exercise the office of a bishop within the province of Capetown. And we do hereby make known to the faithful in Christ that, being thus excluded from all communion with the Church, he is, according to our Lord's command, and in conformity with the provisions of the 33d Article of Religion, 'to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen man and a publican' (Matt. xviii. 17, 18). Given under our hand and seal this 16th day of December 1865. R. Capetown." At the same time the Metropolitan published a pastoral to the clergy and laity of Natal explaining clearly the reasons which forced this painful measure upon himself and his comprovincials.¹

13. The Bishop of Capetown, anxious to have the approval of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury for what he had done, applied through the archbishop for its opinion on three points:—

I. Whether the Church of England holds communion with Dr. Colenso and the heretical church he is seeking to establish in Natal, or whether it is in communion with the orthodox bishops, who in synod declared him to be *ipso facto* excommunicated?

II. (From the Dean of Maritzburg) Whether the

¹ *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 248.

acceptance of a new bishop on our part, whilst Dr. Colenso still retains the letters patent of the Crown, would in any way sever us from the mother Church of England?

III. Supposing the reply to the last question to be that they would not be in any way severed, what are the proper steps for us to take to obtain a new bishop?

When these questions were brought before the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation an acrimonious debate followed. There were two bishops who, though they professed themselves to believe that Dr. Colenso had published very grievous errors, yet seem to have resented most bitterly all proceedings against him. Others of their brethren lent them aid by raising feeble objections. The first answer was, however, ultimately carried in the form following—"It is the opinion of this House that the Church of England holds communion with the Bishop of Capetown, and with those bishops, who lately with him in synod declared Bishop Colenso to be *ipso facto* excommunicated." To the second and third queries it was replied, "It is the judgment of this House that the existence of the letters patent would not cause the acceptance of a new bishop to involve any loss of communion between you and the mother Church, and if it should be decided that a new bishop be consecrated, that a formal instrument declaratory of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of South Africa should be prepared; that a godly and well-learned man should be chosen by the clergy with assent of the lay communicants, and presented for consecration either to the Archbishop of Canterbury or to the Bishops of South Africa." These resolutions being sent down to the Lower House were carried there, a rider having been moved by Canon Seymour, "And they are further of opinion that Dr. Colenso having been not only excommunicated by the aforesaid synod, but also deposed from his office of bishop, if a bishop shall be duly elected and consecrated for the See of Natal in the place of Bishop Colenso, the Church of England would of necessity hold communion with that bishop." This was carried in spite of an angry and vehement speech from the Dean of Westminster. The conclusion arrived at was, however, not satis-

factory to the Bishop of Capetown.¹ In his view the synod “expressly and deliberately, after long time for consideration, refuses to say that the Church of England is not in communion with the heresiarch who teaches openly that it is unscriptural and wrong to pray to our Lord.”²

14. Dr. Colenso now brought an action against the trustees of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, who had withheld his salary on the ground that he was no longer holding the office on account of which it had been granted, the letters patent having been declared void. Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, decided the action in his favour, and declared that the letters patent were not void ; thus completely contradicting the former decision. Although this might be regarded as in some ways beneficial to Bishop Gray, inasmuch as it secured him his salary from the fund, he was yet strongly opposed to the decision, which would have the effect of again subjecting him to the Privy Council. Meantime the clergy and laity of the diocese of Natal had elected as their bishop the Rev. W. J. Butler, vicar of Wantage. Mr. Butler put himself in the hands of his diocesan, the Bishop of Oxford, and the Primate, as to whether he should accept the appointment, and the matter remained undecided until the meeting of the great council of Anglican bishops which took place this year (1867) at Lambeth. In that synod (of which more will be said in another place) the affairs of the Capetown diocese of necessity came forward. But they were discussed in an unsatisfactory way. The archbishop had given a pledge to some of his suffragans that the Colenso case should not come forward. But this was the very matter upon which the American and Colonial bishops desired to have a decision, and there was great dissatisfaction on their parts that this was denied them. In consequence of their not being able to come to a vote on the question of the validity of the excommunication in the conference, fifty-six bishops signed the following declaration :—“ We, the undersigned bishops, declare our acceptance of the sentence pronounced upon Dr. Colenso by the Metropolitan of South Africa, with his

¹ *Life of Bishop Gray*, iii. 277 ; *Chronicle of Convocation*, 1866.

² *Life of Bishop Gray*, iii. 278.

suffragans, as being spiritually a valid sentence.”¹ This was a great consolation to the Bishop of Capetown, but indeed his bold and unwearied defence of the truth now surrounded him with an unbounded popularity. At the Church Congress at Wolverhampton he received a most striking ovation, and a pastoral staff was presented to him. At the time of the presentation the Bishop of Tennessee made an impressive speech. “Woe be to our branch of the Church,” he said, “when she shall fail for any earthly considerations to stand up and give her approval clearly of such a pastor of Christ’s flock as the Bishop of Capetown. I rejoice that I have the opportunity of giving him assurance of the fact—for it is a fact—that his name is a household word in every church family in America. I doubt whether there is a bishop of the American Church better known among us than the Metropolitan of Capetown.”

15. The appointment of a successor to Dr. Colenso still remained undecided. Mr. Butler had been elected, and was prepared to undertake the arduous post, if the archbishop and his own bishop should recommend him to do so. The Primate, with somewhat of an excess of prudence, shrank from doing this, inasmuch as Mr. Butler had signed a declaration on the doctrine of the Eucharist put out June 1867, which was thought to commit him to views likely to be unacceptable in Natal. Under these circumstances Mr. Butler naturally drew back, and the choice ultimately fell upon the Rev. W. K. Macrorie, vicar of Accrington in Lancashire. But the greatest difficulties arose as to his consecration in England. Both the archbishops shrank from sanctioning it, and the Scotch bishops felt such impediments and misgivings that it seemed impossible to press them to carry it out.

16. Meantime the meeting of the Convocation of Canterbury in February 1868 was destined to bring some comfort to the Bishop of Capetown. In the Lower House a gravamen, proposed by Canon Seymour, was, after long discussion and the rejection of several amendments, adopted as an *articulus cleri*. It ran as follows:—“That

¹ *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 356.

this House, having in mind that the Church of England is in true and close communion with the Church of South Africa, of which the Bishop of Capetown is Bishop Metropolitan, believes it to be the plain duty of this provincial synod to declare, on behalf of the Church of England, so far as it is competent to do so, its acceptance of these acts of the bishops of South Africa, and that the omission of such a declaration is not only a cause of grief and perplexity to many, both in and out of this House, but is also a wrong done both to the Church at home and the Church of South Africa, and a scandal to all branches of the Anglican communion. They therefore earnestly pray your lordships to take measures for declaring—first, that the Church of England accepts as valid the excommunication of Dr. Colenso, and that until he be reconciled and received into the Church by proper authority, they will, as by the 33d of the Thirty-nine Articles they are solemnly bound, hold Dr. Colenso to be ‘cut off from the Church and excommunicated’; and second, that they accept the validity of the act of the Lord Bishop of Capetown in deposing Dr. Colenso from his bishopric.”¹ This resolution having been sent to the Upper House was received there with somewhat of dismay. The usual resource of appointing a committee was adopted. In the summer session this committee reported—“(1) That substantial justice had been done to the accused; (2) that though the sentence can claim no legal effect, the Church as a spiritual body may rightly accept its validity.” These conclusions were adopted by the House, and having been communicated to the Lower House were also adopted by it. The Bishop of Capetown was not fully satisfied (no mention having been made of the excommunication). But he could say with somewhat of relief, “We have thus a synodical decision of the province of Canterbury affirming the canonical deposition of the Bishop of Natal.”²

17. Troubles, annoyances, and vexations still attended

¹ The bishop was satisfied with this. “The Lower House has now,” he said, “at least cleared that portion of the Church which it represents from all complicity with heresy.”—*Life*, ii. 397.

² *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 432.

the indomitable Bishop of Capetown. The Government, which had promised a mandate for the consecration of the new bishop in the colony, for some occult reason strangely withheld it. Bishop Gray sailed for the Cape in October (1868) in company with a band of Sisters and the Bishop designate. At length the bishops of Grahamstown, St. Helena, and the Free State were got together, and on January 25, 1869, the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, the consecration took place in the cathedral church at Capetown, and the great work of the Metropolitan was in a measure ended. Bishop Macrorie was consecrated as "Bishop of the Church in Natal and Zululand in communion with the bishops of the province of South Africa and with the Church of England." He took the title of Bishop of Maritzburg. "Few men," says Mr. Tucker, "have been placed in a position of greater difficulty and responsibility. Everything had to be begun anew, for the churches generally were vested in Bishop Colenso. New churches and schools therefore had to be built, and the missions had to be cherished and developed under the dispiriting influence of a divided church. Nevertheless, with much patience and forbearance the work was carried on, until the churches in connection with the South African Church in the colony, and the clergy who served them, were about four times as numerous as those who acknowledged the authority of Bishop Colenso."¹

18. The Bishop of Capetown saw only the beginning of this work, but he saw and heard enough to cheer him and to bring somewhat of calm to his latter years. He had been called to do a great work, and he had done it nobly. With unflinching zeal and untiring self-sacrifice, through evil report and good report, he had steadily laboured at the task of freeing that portion of the Church which had been entrusted to him from the taint of blasphemous heresy, and of upholding the Catholic faith. In very many respects he was the reproduction of the great Bishop of Northern Africa, St. Athanasius. Like him he was the subject of the most malicious and spiteful calumnies; like him he was perfectly undaunted and in-

¹ *The English Church in Other Lands*, p. 129.

flexible, yet devout, gentle, and loving. Persecuted by the secular authorities, he was only drawn the nearer to the Church, and made to realise more completely her paramount claims. He was the instrument of untold good, not only to the Church in South Africa but to the Church in England also, by setting before her people an example of what a Christian prelate might be, and giving a practical reproof to her too complying and Erastian bishops.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE RITUAL COMMISSION

1867-1870

1. Growth of Ritualism. 2. Feeling excited against it. 3. Lord Shaftesbury's Bill—Great danger to the Church. 4. Threatened Bill of the archbishop—Great service of Mr. Gladstone. 5. Defeat of Lord Shaftesbury's Bill. 6. The Rubrics Commission. 7. The first report. 8. The E. C. U.—Suits against Mr. Mackonochie and Mr. Simpson. 9. Judgment of Sir R. Phillimore. 10. The second report—Adverse opinions. 11. The report on the Lectionary. 12. The final report of the commission. 13. Memorial presented against the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. 14. The Purchas case—Judgment of Sir R. Phillimore. 15. Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. 16. Discontent of the Ritualists.

1. THE decision in the case of *Westerton v. Liddell* had not produced the effect of checking the development of ritual observance in the Church of England, but rather of encouraging it. As in that judgment it had been declared, that all the ornaments of the Church and the minister, which were specified in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., were legal, the vestments specified in that book, though the use of them did not form a part of the actual judgment, were held to be legalised for present use. The dictum also that such "ornaments" as were plainly subsidiary to the performance of the service—as, for instance, the credence table—might be allowed, was held to cover a good deal. It was but a short step to pass from "ornaments" to ceremonies, and thus to find a sanction for the mixed chalice, the use of incense, and some other matters. Incense was said to have been used in the Church of England after the Reformation, and it was thought it might with advantage be reintroduced as a subsidiary to worship. The general restoration of churches to a state of much beauty and

magnificence suggested naturally a higher and more attractive style of service than had previously prevailed. High pews and whitewashed walls seemed utterly incompatible with any striking ceremonial, but these things were now rapidly passing away. The cross as an ornament had actual legal sanction. Coloured altar cloths, varying according to the seasons, were also allowed. Against floral decorations, surpliced choirs, processional hymns, there could be no law alleged. Collections of hymns suitable for higher and more earnest worship had everywhere displaced the wretched parodies on the Psalms of David ; and the services of the Church were rapidly being transformed from the bald and meagre condition in which they had long lingered, to an ornate, festive and reverential type.

2. The introduction into churches of bright colours, striking music, reverential attitudes, rich ornaments, was eminently attractive to the young, and to many who had been repelled by the cold formality and sometimes grievous irreverence of the old ways. But to others these things were a source of bitter annoyance and exasperation. They had grown up perhaps to spiritual life under the simple service which they had known from their youth, and had found comfort and delight in it, and any change was unwelcome. Were all the old traditions and usages of the Church of England, they argued, to be rudely shaken and revolutionised to please the æsthetic tastes of some youthful clergyman, or, worse still, to harmonise with his Romanising views of doctrine? Were not these things a perilous and contemptible imitation of Rome? Were they not an utter abnegation of the Protestant character of the Church of England? Were they not entirely hostile to true spiritual religion?

3. The excitement became very great, and as the leader of it there appeared a nobleman venerated for his many acts of philanthropy and charity, but whose religious views were narrow in proportion to their strength, and who was intensely hostile to anything savouring of an approach to Rome. Lord Shaftesbury was known to be preparing a Bill, with the help of an able ecclesiastical lawyer, intended to cut off all pretences to the legality of

ceremonial observances, and to regulate the worship of the Church, irrespective of Convocation, simply by an Act of Parliament. Never, perhaps, was there a more dangerous crisis for the Church of England than the beginning of the year 1867. A committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury had been considering the whole subject of the ritual allowed by the Prayer Book, and had presented an elaborate report to the Upper House. To this the bishops replied, "Our judgment is that no alterations from long-sanctioned and usual ritual ought to be made in our churches until the sanction of the bishop of the diocese has been obtained thereto."¹ Their lordships, in fact, were in a state of panic. Besieged by addresses from alarmed members of the Church, they were ready to do almost anything to satisfy the clamour, and they came within a hand's breadth of rending the Church of England in pieces. For had they agreed, as at first they intended to do,² to support the Bill of Lord Shaftesbury, and legislate for the worship of the Church simply by Act of Parliament, without consulting Convocation, a schism would inevitably have followed.

4. From this they were saved by that prelate whose services to the Church, remarkable though they have been in many ways, were never more valuable than on this occasion.³ But the alternative was that the *Archbishop* was to bring in a Bill—that is to say, the head of the English Church was to go to Parliament for power to alter the Prayer Book, without any reference to the proper ecclesiastical bodies. The Bishop of Oxford might well write to the Primate, "Further reflection only increases my distress at this intended move. Parliament without Convocation being encouraged by us to alter a leading rubric, one which

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 204.

² "The whole phalanx of archbishop and bishops from the north, and all the Puritan bishops were hot for it—only three of us opposed it. Worst of all, our own archbishop, though he did not like it, 'did not see how he could oppose it.' I set before them the ignominy of the course, its shameless party spirit, the suicide of the English Episcopate being dragged at the tail of Shaftesbury."—Bishop of Oxford to Mr. Gladstone, *Life*, iii. 206.

³ Bishop of Oxford to Bishop of Salisbury, *Life*, iii. 205.

governs all our ornaments and official vesture, will, *of itself*, so wound all our better men that, quite irrespective of what the alteration is, I think it will inevitably cause a disruption.”¹ But in addition to his own remonstrance Bishop Wilberforce enlisted in the cause at this crisis that great statesman, who (however his political career may be judged) must be held to have always been a good friend to the English Church. Mr. Gladstone met the two archbishops and the Bishop of London, and, after full discussion of the situation, in which he pointed out the imminent danger which would be incurred by such a Bill in the House of Commons, stating that it would probably throw him into a “very anti-episcopal position,” he so far succeeded with the bishops as to be able to say in his letter to the Bishop of Oxford, “I left them, I think, in the mind to drop the Bill and propose a commission.”²

5. When the matter was proposed to them, the Cabinet of Lord Derby were unanimously of opinion, that it would be desirable to appoint a royal commission to consider the rubrics. The Archbishop and the Bishop of Oxford thought that the inquiries of the commission should be limited to the ornaments rubric, but this was not accepted by the ministers. It was determined to examine all the rubrics, and also the Lectionary. Bishop Wilberforce was also of opinion that something should be said in the commission as to the results of its labours being submitted to Convocation afterwards. He seemed to be alone among his brethren able to foresee the coming mischief. While they were talking of prosecutions and of hard-and-fast lines, and fetters riveted by legislation, he wrote, “I have no patience with our being driven to legislate, to put ourselves into the utterly false position of asking for more power from the House of Commons, tying up the future expansive power of the Church of England by new Acts of Parliament, destroying the liberty of congregations, and the restraining and directing power of the bishops.”³ Lord Shaftesbury’s Bill actually came on in spite of the defection of the Primate and some of the bishops, and it was actually supported in

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 207.

² *Ib.* p. 209.

³ Bishop of Oxford to Sir C. Anderson, *Life*, iii. 211.

Parliament by a majority of bishops, eleven voting for it, and only eight against it. Bishop Wilberforce in arguing against it said, "The Church of England was not a Church of compromise, but of comprehension; embracing within her fold men of every view between those who absolutely denied her primary principles, and those who held the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, which she had expressly condemned. In that comprehensiveness it was that her strength lay. Let not their lordships, then, without being aware of what they were doing, by legislation give a triumph to one party in the Church over another."¹ These wise counsels prevailed, and the Bill was negatived by a majority of fifteen. The commission was now immediately formed and its work entered upon.

6. The commission recited: "Whereas it has been represented to us that differences of practice have arisen from varying interpretations put upon the rubrics, orders, and directions for regulating the course and conduct of public worship, the administration of the Sacraments, and the other services contained in the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the united Church of England and Ireland, and more especially with reference to the ornaments used in the churches and chapels of the said united Church, and the vestments worn by the ministers thereof at the time of their ministration: And whereas it is expedient that a full and impartial inquiry should be made into the matters aforesaid with a view of explaining or amending the said rubrics, orders, and directions, so as to secure general uniformity of practice in such matters as may be deemed essential: We do hereby enjoin you, or any ten or more of you, to make diligent inquiry into all and every the matters aforesaid, and to report thereupon from time to time as to you or any ten or more of you may appear to be most expedient, having regard not only to the said rubrics, orders, and directions contained in the said Book of Common Prayer, but also to any other laws or customs relating to the matters aforesaid, with power to suggest any alterations, improvements, or amendments with respect to such matters, or any of them, as you, or any ten or

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 212.

more of you, may think fit to recommend. And we do further enjoin you, or any ten or more of you, after you have completed and reported on the matters referred to in the former part of this commission, to inquire into and consider the proper lessons appointed to be read on the Sundays and holydays throughout the year, and the table of first and second lessons contained in the said Book of Common Prayer, with the view of suggesting and reporting to us whether any and what alterations and amendments may be advantageously made in the selection of lessons to be read at the time of divine service," etc. The commission, consisting of twenty-nine members—fourteen clergy and fifteen laymen,—began its sittings in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, on June 17, 1867.

7. On August 19 the commission made its first report after the examination of numerous witnesses of all schools of thought in the Church. The report ran as follows:—"We find that while these vestments are regarded by some witnesses as symbolical of doctrine, and by others as a distinctive vesture whereby they desire to do honour to the Holy Communion as the highest act of Christian worship, they are by none regarded as essential, and they give grave offence to many. We are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the united Church of England and Ireland all variations in respect of vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the said united Church, and we think that this may best be secured by providing aggrieved parishioners with an easy and effectual process for complaint and redress. We are not yet prepared to recommend to your Majesty the best mode of giving effect to these conclusions, with a view at once to secure the objects proposed and to promote the peace of the Church, but we have thought it our duty in a matter to which great interest is attached, not to delay the communication to your Majesty of the results at which we have already arrived." The most valuable part of the report was contained in the appendix, which gave the elaborate cases and opinions of leading counsel¹ as to the legality

¹ On behalf of several archbishops and bishops a case was submitted to Sir R. Palmer, Sir H. Cairns, Mr. Mellish, and Mr. Barron. In

of the ornaments and practices complained of, as well as the very able report of the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury on the whole question of ritual observance.

8. It has been already stated that in reply to this report of the Lower House when presented, the bishops declared their agreement that no change ought to be made without the sanction of the bishop of the diocese. The Lower House accepted and endorsed this reply. The Convocation of York was somewhat more decided, and "desired to place on record its deliberate opinion that these innovations are to be deprecated, as tending to favour errors rejected by the Church, and as being repugnant to the feelings of a large number both of the clergy and laity." The Ritualists therefore could claim but small support from the recognised authorities. But they had a powerful aid in the English Church Union, an organisation which in 1860 had sprung out of the older Church Unions, and was supported with much enthusiasm by a large number of clergy and lay communicants. The object of this association was to defend and uphold Church observances and Catholic doctrine, and to aid all those who should be attacked or prosecuted for such observance or teaching.¹

the opinion it is assumed that the advertisements of Queen Elizabeth (so called) were a legal taking of order to modify the Elizabethan rubric. This view has now been so generally rejected that no great weight would be attached to an opinion founded on it. On the part of the English Church Union a case was referred to Sir R. Phillimore, Sir F. Kelly, Sir W. Bovill, Mr. James, Dr. Deane, Mr. Coleridge, Mr. Prideaux, Mr. Hannen, and Mr. Cutler. The opinions of these eminent lawyers are summarised in the report, and ran as follows:—

1. *The Vestments*.—Lawful, all.
2. *The Two Lights*.—Lawful, 6; not lawful, 2; (Sir F. Kelly withdrew).
3. *Incense*.—Not lawful, all.
4. *Mixed Chalice*.—Lawful, 3; doubtful, 2; not lawful, 3.
5. *Wafer Bread*.—Lawful, 4; doubtful, 3; not lawful, 1.
6. *Anthems, etc., in Communion Service*.—Not lawful during the service, all.

¹ "For Church Unions I suppose I have had from 1845 to this time as much to do with them as any man, and I cannot be sufficiently thankful that the English Church Union, having come into the place

The aid of the English Church Union was soon urgently needed, for in December 1867 was brought before the Arches Court the first action in the famous case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, in which the defendant was prosecuted under the Church Discipline Act for alleged illegal ritual in the Church of St. Alban's, Holborn. This case was followed in February 1868 by that of *Flamank v. Simpson*, brought by letters of request from the diocese of Exeter. The two cases involved nearly the same points, and after arguments of enormous length had been addressed to him upon them, the learned judge, Sir R. Phillimore, gave judgment in both the cases, March 28, 1868.

9. The judgment of Sir R. Phillimore is equivalent to a most learned and elaborate treatise on ritual in connection with the Church of England. With regard to the particular points charged, he decides (1) that the elevation of the paten and chalice after consecration for an appreciable time is unlawful; (2) that the charge against Mr. Mackonochie of kneeling or prostration during the prayer of consecration "belongs to the category of those cases which should be referred to the bishop;" (3) that "to bring in incense at the beginning or during the celebration of the Eucharist is a distinct ceremony, additional, and not even indirectly incident to the ceremonies ordered by the Book of Common Prayer. Although, therefore, it be an ancient, innocent, and pleasing custom, I am constrained to pronounce the use of it illegal;" (4) mixing water with the wine previously to the service is not illegal, but this must not be done in the service as a ceremony; (5) it is lawful to place two lighted candles on the Holy Table during the time of the Holy Communion, "for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world."¹

of its local predecessors, has now planted its foot upon the solid ground of absolute rejection of secular regulation in matters spiritual. It is the only ground upon which it is possible to fight the battle of the Church as against a professing indifferent, but really and actively hostile, civil power. I was in the chair in Mr. Trower's rooms, in Victoria Street, in 1860, when the English Church Union was first formed."—*Notes of my Life*, by Archdeacon Denison, p. 333.

¹ On appeal by the promoter to the Judicial Committee of the Privy

10. This judgment occurring in the midst of the labours of the Ritual Commission had, as will be seen, some effect on the second report of that body. This was presented April 30, 1868. It touches first of all the question of the lighted candles at the celebration of Holy Communion, and, alluding to Sir R. Phillimore's judgment, declares that "no sufficient evidence has been adduced before us to prove that at any time, during the last three centuries, lighted candles have been used in any of these churches as accessories to the celebration of the Holy Communion until within about the last twenty-five years. The use of incense in the public services of the Church during the present century is very recent, and the instances of its introduction are very rare; and so far as we have any evidence before us, is at variance with the Church's usage for three hundred years. Under these circumstances we are of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all variations from established usage in respect of lighted candles and of incense." Having laid down this, the commission next suggests a "speedy and inexpensive remedy" for parishioners aggrieved by the introduction of vestments, incense, or lights. First, that the usage of the Church of England for three hundred years shall be deemed to be the *rule of the Church*. Secondly, that parishioners aggrieved on these points may make appeal to the bishop *in camera*, who shall decide, but with appeal to the archbishop, whose decision shall be final—five parishioners in places of over a thousand inhabitants, and three in places under this number, being required, which parishioners shall declare themselves members of the Church; or the appeal may be made by one of the churchwardens. This report was signed by twenty-three commissioners, but several of them signed with reservations. The Bishop of Oxford and Dean of Ely appended their opinion "that continued usage in ordinary circumstances ought in matters ceremonial to be so far the

Council, it was decided with regard to (2) that it was unlawful, and not a matter to be left to the ordering of the bishop. That (5) was unlawful, lights not being permissible except for the purpose of giving light. (Nov. 17, 1868.)

rule as to protect unwilling parishioners from arbitrary change, even though the change may seem to be within the letter of the law, but we cannot approve of any attempt to stereotype by legislation for perpetual observance any use not actually enjoined. Such legislation even thirty years ago would have prohibited much that is now generally adopted, and all but universally approved. We cannot advise the introduction of a new rule of ornaments for the Established Church. We think such a rule unnecessary, and we believe that the attempt to introduce it would be dangerous." Four other commissioners accepting these views thought them of sufficient importance to justify them in declining to sign the report. Mr. Coleridge and the Dean of Westminster were in favour of a "variety and elasticity of outward observance," only to be restrained when it gives offence to parishioners. In Lord Beauchamp's separate remarks some weighty reasons are given for not stereotyping present usage. "Disregard of ceremonial in our services continued almost down to the present day, and the alienation of the population, especially among the lower orders, from regular attendance at religious worship may be fairly attributed to the want of life and heartiness which well-ordered services promote." He was also of opinion that "the machinery proposed in the report to give effect to the grievance of parishioners in the cases of vestments and lights, appears calculated to promote disturbance rather than peace, and to be incapable of adaptation to the varying circumstances of parishes and congregations of a widely different character." Mr. T. W. Perry was of opinion that it was highly objectionable "to make the practice of a period of very general indifference, and even of opposition to the plainest and most positive laws of the Church of England and Ireland the 'rule of the Church' for the future."

11. The third report of the commissioners was perhaps the most valuable part of their labours. It contained a revised and amended Lectionary, which had been agreed upon after much careful investigation, by a sub-committee appointed for the purpose. The original idea of the Lectionary of the Church of England was to read through the

whole of the Scriptures in contradistinction to the very partial readings used in old times—the Old Testament once every year, the New Testament three times. Then came the selection of proper lessons in the time of Elizabeth, the idea in which was rather the choosing edifying chapters than chapters specially appropriate to the subject of the day. It can hardly be said, indeed, that this latter principle, which many hold to be the foundation-principle for a Lectionary, was fully recognised in the work of the committee. They themselves describe the things at which they aimed in their arrangement as (1) varying and shortening many of the lessons, for this purpose disregarding the division of chapters, and so arranging their selections as to be *most conducive to edification*; (2) omitting a great deal of the Apocrypha, bringing in much of the Revelation, and ordering the New Testament so as to be read twice in the year instead of thrice; (3) for proper lessons on holy-days choosing some more appropriate chapters and supplying some deficiencies; (4) providing a second series of lessons for a third service when used. This and other parts of the arrangement, as the providing for the reading of the Gospels on some of the evenings, were great improvements. The weak point of the Lectionary seems to be an insufficient regard of the principle above indicated, and the failing to provide lessons appropriate to the subject of the day, both from the Old and the New Testament, for all festivals.

12. Up to this point the commissioners had been fairly of one mind, but on the publication of the fourth report, August 31, 1870, a very great diversity of opinion was exhibited. This report contained the annotations of the commission on all the rubrics, and many suggestions of change and of new rubrics. One thing at once struck every one with amazement. The commission had in fact been appointed to deal with the ornaments rubric, yet, in their final report, the ornaments rubric appears absolutely untouched. But it was on the matter of the Athanasian Creed that the greatest diversity of opinion appeared. The final resolve of the committee was to leave the rubric regulating the use of this confession of faith unaltered, but to

append to it a note, as follows :—"Note that the condemnations in this confession of faith are to be no otherwise understood than as a solemn warning of the peril of those who wilfully reject the Catholic faith." This method of dealing with the Creed was opposed on the one hand by those who were anxious to have it removed from the services, and on the other, by those who considered that a slur would be cast upon its exact and carefully-worded dogmatic statements by appending a note. Thus no less than seventeen members of the commission protested against this method of dealing with the Creed, and it seems hard to understand how the resolution to thus deal with it was arrived at. The changes proposed in the rubrics will be noted more in detail when mention is made of the review of this report in the Convocations. It may be said here, however, that the treatment of the whole subject was not altogether satisfactory, and did not contribute much towards doing away with diversities of practice, or throw much new light upon difficult points. The appointment of the commission, doubtless, staved off a great mischief, but its work, except as regards the Lectionary, was of no immediate value to the Church.

13. Before the termination of the commission a very weighty memorial was presented to it, complaining of the judgment of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*. This memorial objected first to the constitution of this final Court of Appeal on two grounds, alleging, (1.) "That it has been appointed by Parliament to deal with questions of the doctrine and discipline of the Church without the sanction of the representative assemblies of the spirituality asked and obtained. (2.) It comprises no adequate representation of the spirituality (see 24 Hen. VIII., c. 12), or of persons versed in theological, liturgical, and ecclesiastical questions." It then asserted that this Court "only by an oversight in legislation, as was confessed by the framer in his place in Parliament, had to deal with questions of doctrine and discipline. That it is a serious defect in the practice of the Court that those of its members, who in any case dissent from the judgment of the majority, do not publicly state the grounds and

reasons of such dissent at the time of the delivery of the judgment." Then passing from general complaints to particular, the memorial proceeds to assert that the judgment in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie* is "open to the gravest complaint." The criticism of the judgment is very severe, and in some points absolutely destructive. Nothing, in fact, could excuse the contemptuous ignoring, in the judgment, of the very elaborate argument of the judge of the Arches Court for the legality of the two lights. It is simply said, "Without stopping in this place to inquire into the nature of the authority under which the injunctions of 1547 were issued, their lordships are clearly of opinion," etc. The memorialists remark, "It appears to the memorialists a strange thing that their lordships should have declined this inquiry." They point out the absurdities that would follow by the strict application of the law that omission is prohibition, and that the letter of the rubric is to be the only guide, and in conclusion pray the commissioners to "vindicate the primitive and catholic character of the Church of England, disparaged by the judgment of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council now under review; to claim for Churchmen the lawful liberty now invaded or denied; and to relieve them from the contradictions, the difficulties, and the dangers in which they are placed by the late interpretation of the law" (January 12, 1869).

14. Other prosecutions for "ritualistic practices" followed quickly after the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*. The Rev. R. H. E. Wix of Swanmore, near Ryde, was prosecuted by his diocesan in the Arches Court for the use of lighted candles and incense, and was admonished to abstain from these ceremonies. The Rev. John Purchas of St. James's Chapel, Brighton, having been sued by Colonel Elphinstone for alleged illegal practices, the case was brought into the Arches Court, and judgment given February 3, 1870. This was the first case that raised the question of the legality of the ancient vestments, which appeared to be clearly sanctioned in principle by the judgment in *Westerton v. Liddell*, but the question as to which had not been actually before the Court. The learned judge of

the Arches Court said with great force, "I am convinced that if the subject to which the language refers were not one which excites some of the strongest passions and feelings of our nature, but was one of an ordinary and indifferent civil character, no dispute would ever have been raised with respect to the plain and natural meaning of the language. Much ingenuity has been exercised to show that the obvious meaning is not the true one, and, in fact, that not only the structure of the sentence must be altered, but other words must be introduced into it before it can receive a legitimate construction." This is in fact the history of all the learned and elaborate disquisitions on the "ornaments rubric," which proved too strong for the commissioners, and which still remains intact in spite of the judgments which have been heaped upon it. In tracing the history of the vestment question the learned judge lays it down that the "advertisements," which were supposed to modify the Elizabethan rubric, were not issued by the Queen, but by the Primate; and he arrives at the conclusion that "the plain words of the statute, according to the ordinary principles of interpretation, and the construction they have received in the two judgments of the Privy Council, oblige me to pronounce that the ornaments of the minister mentioned in the First Book of Edward VI. are those to which the present rubric refers, and I cannot, therefore, pass any ecclesiastical sentence against Mr. Purchas for wearing them." With regard to the processions complained of, conducted with great ceremony with incense, crosses, and banners, the judge held them to be illegal as amounting to an extra ceremony. The sprinkling of holy water and divers other eccentricities, which appear to have been practised at this chapel, were also condemned as illegal; but the judge did not condemn the mixed chalice, wafer bread, or the eastward position in consecrating.

15. The Purchas case with the name of another promoter (Colonel Elphinstone having died) came before the Judicial Committee on appeal. Their lordships were of opinion, First, that the "Ornaments rubric, as explained by the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1559, and the

advertisements of Elizabeth, A.D. 1564,¹ made pursuant to the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz., c. 2, and explained by subsequent visitation articles, when construed with the canons of 1603-4, and the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II., c. 4, does not permit the use by the minister, while officiating at the Holy Communion, of the chasuble, the alb, or the tunicle; but allows of the cope being worn in ministering the Holy Communion on high feast days in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and requires the use of the surplice in all other ministrations. The use of the chasuble, alb, and tunicle by the celebrant, while officiating in the communion service, is illegal. Secondly, the rubrics regarding the position of the minister during the communion service designate the north side of the communion table as the proper place throughout the communion service, and also whilst reading the prayer of consecration.² The proper position, therefore, is on the north side or north end of the table, if it is placed east and west facing the south, and not at that part of the west side of the table which is nearest the north; the object being that the people shall see him break the bread and take the cup into his hands, which they cannot do if he stand with his back to the people and between the people and the holy table. Thirdly, the rubric regarding the elements requires that the bread to be used at the Holy Communion be pure wheaten bread, as is directed by the canons of 1603-4, and not wafer-bread, which is illegal; and does not allow the ministering of wine mixed with water instead of wine only to the communicants at the Lord's Supper, whether the water be mingled with wine before or during the communion service. The use of a biretta or cap as a vestment in the service of the Church is illegal."³ This judgment was delivered in February 1870, a few months before the final report of the commissioners.

16. Thus, up to this period, none of the points contended for by the Ritualists had obtained legal sanction. The judgment most favourable to them—that of *Westerton v. Liddell*—had been narrowed and pared down so as in

¹ These advertisements were not issued till 1566.

² This was reversed in the *Ridsdale* case.

³ Brooke's *Privy Council Judgments*, p. 163.

effect to be made to mean nothing. The ornaments rubric was now judicially declared to mean the exact opposite to that which its words seemed to imply ; and every ceremony, however primitive and harmless, was rigidly excluded from public worship unless actually named in the Prayer Book. It is true that the learned judge of the Arches Court, whose studies had led him somewhat deeper into these matters than some of the judges of the Judicial Committee had been able to penetrate, had in several cases decided favourably as to the legality of the revived observances ; and, although his decisions were overruled, they were nevertheless an encouragement and support to those who were desirous of giving to the worship of the Church a more elaborate and attractive character. In fact the Ritualist party were by no means cast down or suppressed by the Mackonochie and Purchas judgments. It was asserted by many that these judicial decisions did not make the law, they only interpreted it for a particular case, and their authority did not extend beyond the case in hand ; that their *obiter dicta* were of no authority, and that the Court itself was fundamentally and radically defective. Thus litigation was prolonged and strife increased, and a host of troubles followed. Men who had learned what the Church was would not be dominated in ecclesiastical matters by the dicta of lay judges. The famous dictum that omission is prohibition gave rise to all sorts of absurd illustrations. "Upon the whole," says a writer on these matters, "I humbly venture to think that a decision built upon a maxim which is directly contradictory of one of the acknowledged canons of English law, and which leads to a *reductio ad absurdum* in addition, is not well calculated to command the respect and loyalty of law-loving subjects."¹ The Purchas judgment was freely characterised as an "outrage upon law, logic, and history." A protest signed by men of all schools was immediately got up against it, and one of the Evangelical bishops is said to have informed his clergy that if they chose to disregard it he should not interfere with them.²

¹ *Lawlessness, Sacerdotalism, Ritualism*, Rev. M. MacColl, p. 40.

² *Ib.* p. 41.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EUCCHARISTIC DOCTRINE

1853-1872

1. Ritual connected with a high doctrine of the Eucharist. 2. Attempt to force a legal decision on the doctrine of the Eucharist. 3. Commencement of the suit against Archdeacon Denison. 4. Final decision of the suit. 5. Mischievous effect of the proceedings. 6. Growth of Eucharistic doctrine. 7. Danger of materialising. 8. *Shephard v. Bennett*—Judgment of Sir R. Phillimore. 9. Judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. 10. Severe remarks on Sir R. Phillimore's judgment and on Mr. Bennett. 11. Character of the decisions of the Judicial Committee.

1. THE ritual observances which had been the subject of so much dispute were due in some cases to mere æsthetic taste—the love of what was comely and beautiful, the belief that the introduction of the attractive and ornamental into her services was the great and crying want of the Church of England. But in the majority of cases these observances were connected and associated with a doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, which was of a higher and more definite character than that which had been usually accepted in the Church of England.¹ And it was to this well-known fact that the greatest opposition to Ritualism was due. Some, indeed, affected to deride these things as puerilities—*tolerabiles ineptias*,—as Calvin described the ceremonies of

¹ “Ritual is Catholic if it is anything worth having. It is the natural sequel and outcome of the doctrine of the sacraments, and especially of the doctrine of the Real Presence. The revival of the doctrine of the blessed sacrament has been accompanied in due course by the revival of the ritual of the blessed sacrament. Attempts have been made to affirm that ritual is only another name for decency, order, reverence. Reverence for what? The answer is not easy. But the days of surface-reasoning upon this subject seem to be gone by.”—*Notes of my Life*, by Archdeacon Denison, p. 348.

the English Prayer Book. Others, looking deeper, saw in the gorgeous vestments, the eastward position, the frequent prostrations, the mixed chalice, the wafer bread, and the incense, nothing less (as they supposed) than the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation, the utter reversal of the protest of the reformed Church against the Mass, and the introduction of teaching in the highest degree perilous to the souls of men. Hence the persistent violence with which the Ritualists were assailed. A society called the Church Association had been formed for the express purpose of prosecuting them, and many earnest-minded men believed it to be their solemn duty, at any cost of disturbance or apparent hardship to individuals, thus to contend for the faith on a subject of such vital importance.

2. The doctrine of the Holy Eucharist has unfortunately in all ages of the Church been more or less a subject of dispute. Men have not been contented to treat it as a mystery, but have striven to explain and dogmatise in the matter. Ever since Paschasius Radbert stated boldly the materialising view, there has been in the Church a succession of materialisers and spiritualisers. Joannes Scotus, Berengar of Tours, Ratramnus, John Wycliffe, are the chief representatives of this latter view up to the time of the Reformation, when a new and more decided spiritualism came from the school of Zuinglius and Calvin, and somewhat affected the theology of the Church of England. But, in the judgment of Churchmen generally, the primitive doctrine of the Real Presence, without change in the substance of the elements, seemed to be satisfactorily expressed in the formularies of the Church of England; and they were for the most part content to use these accepted forms, without endeavouring to force their special interpretation of them upon others who accepted them with somewhat different views. After, however, the Gorham judgment, which had seemed to throw a doubt upon the doctrine of the Church as to the first great sacrament, there was a restlessness in the minds of some as to the other sacrament, and a determination to bring out, at any cost, the teaching of the English Church in this matter in its strongest form. This may serve to account in a measure

for the pains taken by Archdeacon Denison to press his views on this sacred subject on the Church at large, and to court proceedings against himself, that he might thus force a legal decision on the subject.

3. Mr. Denison had been Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and during Bishop Bagot's illness, and while the See was being administered by Bishop Spencer as commissary, had come into some collision with this latter, as to the opinions which he required in the candidates for orders and his doctrine on the Eucharist. Having been led to believe (it appears without foundation¹) that Bishop Bagot also disapproved of his doctrine, Mr. Denison resigned his post as Examining Chaplain, but wishing to bring the orthodoxy of his doctrine to a test, he preached in Wells Cathedral (August 7 and November 6, 1853) two sermons on the Real Presence, which he immediately published. The challenge thus thrown out was taken up by the Rev. Joseph Ditcher, vicar of South Brent, at the instigation, it is said, of the "Evangelical Alliance," and of the Ven. Henry Law, Archdeacon of Wells.² Mr. Denison was asked to retract some of his statements, and on his refusing to do so legal proceedings were commenced. An attempt was made to stop the suit by obtaining an extra-judicial opinion from Bishop Bagot, who was then very near his end. But this not proving satisfactory the suit went on. Bishop Bagot's successor, Lord Auckland, refused to interfere, and the promoters then applied to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who issued a commission under the Church Discipline Act, which sat at Clevedon, January 3, 1855. The commissioners found that there was *prima facie* ground for instituting further proceedings, and the suit was proceeded with in the Pro-Diocesan Court held at Bath, July 22, 1856, and presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This step in the business had not been reached until after a great number of legal processes. The archbishop was very unwilling to proceed, but was compelled by the law courts to do so.

4. The case having been argued upon its merits, the

¹ See *Notes of my Life*, p. 230.

² *Ib.* p. 222.

Court adjourned to August 12, 1856, when the archbishop made a declaration of certain points which the archdeacon was called upon to revoke. These were—(1.) "That to all who come to the Lord's Table—to those who eat and drink worthily, and to those who eat and drink unworthily—the body and blood of Christ are given; and that by all who come to the Lord's Table—by those who eat and drink worthily, and by those who eat and drink unworthily—the body and blood of Christ are received." (2.) "It is true that worship is due to the real though invisible presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Eucharist under the form of bread and wine." The archdeacon declined to retract either of these propositions, and on October 22, 1856, Dr. Lushington, acting for the archbishop, passed sentence, depriving Mr. Denison of his vicarage and archdeaconry. An appeal was lodged to the court of the Province, which set aside the sentence on legal grounds. It was then carried into the Court of Final Appeal, which confirmed the decision of the Provincial Court (February 6, 1858).

5. The principal agent in these proceedings has recorded his opinion that they were not to be regretted, and that something was gained by them. "I have great cause for thankfulness in the knowledge that the long discussion of the case contributed very materially to a much more general and a much sounder knowledge of the doctrine of the sacraments."¹ Many others, however, were of an entirely different opinion. Mr. Gladstone, writing to the Bishop of Oxford, considered that there had been a mis-carriage of justice. "Two things are pretty plain: the first that not only with executive authorities, but in the sacred halls of justice, there are now two measures and not one in use; the straight one for those supposed to err in believing over much, and the other for those who believe too little. The second, that this is another blow to the dogmatic principle in the Established Church, the principle on which as a Church it rests, and on which as an establishment it seems less and less permitted to rest."² "We are put in

¹ *Notes of my Life*, p. 241.

² *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 321.

this difficulty," writes Bishop Wilberforce, "that if we make common cause with him, and say, 'If you deprive him you will censure the true doctrine,' it becomes *our act* which exposes the true doctrine to appear at all to be censured, when really the true doctrine is not touched or concerned in the matter. I do not touch on the other side,—I mean on the danger to the truth from leaving him to be deprived,—because that lies on the surface."¹ Some were of opinion that a general declaration or protest of the clergy against Dr. Lushington's judgment should be promoted. But the Bishop of Oxford was opposed to this, which would indeed have been a most hazardous proceeding. As a matter of fact Dr. Pusey and fourteen other clergymen did issue a declaration,² but happily it was not allowed to assume any large proportions.

6. Sacramental doctrine was no doubt rapidly growing in the Church of England, and any declaration issued at that time, in such a form as to be widely accepted, would probably have afterwards hampered those who were anxious to advance the highest views. On the other hand, it would certainly have offended and perhaps alienated from the Church a very large section of the clergy, who were perhaps more entirely in harmony with the formularies of the English Church on this point than the others. It was far more for the interest of those who desired the high doctrines to prevail to keep silence at this period. The doctrines of the Primitive Church, and those of the Caroline divines, which had been disparaged by the feeble theology of the eighteenth century, and the spiritualising of the Evangelicals, were now reappearing in all their old phraseology. It was a great proof of this growth that Dr. Pusey, who had been censured by the University of Oxford for his sermon in 1843 on "Holy Communion, a Comfort to the Penitent," should have been able in 1853 to preach to the same audience the same doctrine without any censure. "The learned University of Oxford had to learn as well as the rest of the world. It condemned because it was ignorant. Time advanced; the same doctor preached again when his suspension was over, and reiterated the condemned

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 322.

² *Ib.* ii. 328.

doctrine. Ten years had passed, and the same sermon was continued as though nothing had intervened, and *then* the doctrine was received.”¹ The same writer thus describes the changes in the administration of the Holy Sacrament, which he himself had witnessed. “The priest and deacon, formerly standing with faces opposite to each other, and leaning over the altar in apparently amicable conference, now appear in their sacerdotal position, as though they were in reality occupied in the great sacrifice which it is their office to offer. Formerly an ordinary surplice, and frequently not over clean or seemly, covered the person of the ministering priest—no difference between that and all other offerings of prayer; now the ancient vestments present to crowds of worshippers the fact that here, before God’s altar, is something far higher, far more awful, more mysterious than aught that man can speak of; namely, the presence of the Son of God in human flesh subsisting. And towards this are tending all the ancient rites of the Church, which are now in course of restoration. The solemn music and the smoke of the incense go up before God, assuring the world that there is no appearance only of love, but a reality and a depth which human hearts cannot fathom, nor even the angels themselves.”²

7. That this enthusiasm was not unattended by peril of running into false and materialistic doctrine, the writer just quoted has himself furnished a striking proof. In a *Plea for Toleration in the Church of England*, a letter addressed to the Rev. E. B. Pusey, he had spoken of the “real, actual, and *visible* presence of our Lord upon the altars of our churches,” and “I myself adore and teach the people to adore the consecrated elements, believing Christ to be in them—believing that under their veil is the sacred body and blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” These expressions occurred in the first edition of Mr. Bennett’s work, and in the second edition published in 1867. It was obvious that, if not due to a lax and careless use of theological terms, they implied a materialistic doctrine quite alien from the teaching of the Church of England.

¹ Rev. W. E. Bennett, *Results of the Tractarian Movement*.

² *Ib.* pp. 12, 13.

Accordingly Mr. Bennett (as he frankly acknowledges) was recommended by Dr. Pusey to change them, and did so in his third edition—changing the term “visible”¹ into “under the form of bread and wine,” and in place of “adoring the consecrated elements” substituting “adoring Christ present in the Sacrament under the form of bread and wine.” This change, however, by no means satisfied those who objected to the doctrine of the Real Presence² altogether, and, undeterred by the failure of *Ditcher v. Denison*, a suit was commenced by Mr. Shephard against the Rev. W. E. Bennett, then incumbent of Frome Selwood, in the diocese of Bath and Wells.

8. This came on for hearing before Sir R. Phillimore in the Court of Arches, June 16, 1870. Judgment was delivered on July 23. The judge set forth with great elaboration what he held to be the doctrine of the Church of England, and decided that it was not contrary to the law for a minister of the Church to affirm or promulgate the doctrine that there is an actual and real presence, external to the act of the communicant, in the elements consecrated in the administration of the Holy Communion. That it is unlawful for a minister to teach (1) that there is a *visible* presence of our Lord upon the altar at the celebration of the Holy Communion; (2), that adoration is due to the consecrated elements. From this decision the promoter appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The case was heard on November and December 1871. Judgment was given June 8, 1872.

9. After reciting the proceedings, and setting forth the principles on which the Court acted, viz. that it did not regard its functions to be in any way similar to those of a synod, or that it had authority to enunciate or lay down the doctrine of the Church of England, but simply to judge whether the statements of the defendant had so directly contravened the formularies of the Church as to render

¹ It was not, I believe, noted at the time, but it is a fact, that the learned Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, uses this same term.

² *i.e.* That doctrine of the Real Presence which represents it to reside in the elements outside of and irrespective of the receiver. This is often described as the *objective* presence.

him liable to punishment, it considered the charges against the respondent under three heads:—

(1.) As to the presence of Christ in the Holy Communion.

(2.) As to sacrifice in the Holy Communion.

(3.) As to adoration of Christ present in the Holy Communion: and laid down

(1.) That in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the Church of England holds that the body and blood of Christ are given to, taken, and received by the faithful communicant. She implies, therefore, to that extent a presence of Christ in the ordinance to the soul of the worthy recipient. As to the mode of this presence she affirms nothing, except that the body of Christ is "given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner," and that the "mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten is faith." Any other presence than this—any presence which is not a presence to the soul of the faithful receiver—the Church does not by her articles or formularies affirm or require her ministers to accept. This cannot be stated too plainly. The question is, however, not what the articles and formularies require, but what they exclude. The respondent maintains a presence, which is (to use his own expression) "real, actual, objective"—a presence in the Sacrament, a presence upon the altar, under the form of bread and wine. He does not appear to have used the expression "in the consecrated elements" in the third edition; this is one of the points on which the language of the second edition was altered, and the question raised by the appeal is, whether his position is contradictory or repugnant to anything in the articles or formularies, so as to be properly made the subject of a criminal charge. Setting aside the declaration at the end of the communion office, we find nothing in the articles and formularies to which the respondent's position is contradictory or repugnant. And as regards the declaration and the arguments founded on it, their lordships are of opinion that these inferences, whether probable or not, are by no means of that plain and certain character which the conclusion they are asked to draw from them requires.

The matters to which they relate are confessedly not comprehensible, or very imperfectly comprehensible, by the human understanding; the province of reasoning, as applied to them, is therefore very limited, and the terms employed have not, and cannot have, that precision which the character of the argument demands. The respondent has nowhere alleged in terms a corporal presence of the natural body of Christ in the elements; he has never affirmed that the body of Christ is present in a "corporal" or "natural" manner. On the contrary, he has denied this, and he speaks of the presence in which he believes as "spiritual," "supernatural," "sacramental," "mystical," "ineffable."

(2.) The next charge against the respondent is, that he has maintained that the communion table is an altar of sacrifice at which the priest appears in a sacerdotal position at the celebration of the Holy Communion, and that at such celebration there is a great sacrifice or offering of our Lord by the ministering priest, in which the mediation of our Lord ascends from the altar to plead for the sins of men. The Church of England does not by her articles or formularies teach or affirm the doctrine maintained by the respondent. It is well known, however, that by many divines of eminence the word sacrifice has been applied to the Lord's Supper, in the sense not of a true propitiatory or atoning sacrifice, effectual as a satisfaction for sin, but of a rite which calls to remembrance and represents before God that one true sacrifice. It is not clear to their lordships that the respondent has so used the word "sacrifice" as to contradict the language of the articles.

(3.) Their lordships now proceed to the third charge, which relates to the adoration of Christ present in the sacrament. The Church of England has forbidden all acts of adoration of the sacrament, understanding by that the consecrated elements. But upon the whole their lordships, not without doubts and division of opinion, have come to the conclusion that this charge is not so clearly made out as the rules which govern penal proceedings require. Mr. Bennett is entitled to the benefit of any doubt that may exist. His language has been rash, but as

it appears to the majority of their lordships that his words can be construed so as not to be plainly repugnant to the two passages articulated against them, their lordships will give him the benefit of the doubt that has been raised.

10. Having thus delivered their judgment, and, by affirming the decision of the court below, acquitted the respondent, their lordships were not satisfied to conclude the matter without taking the very unusual course of passing somewhat of a severe censure upon the judgment pronounced by Sir R. Phillimore. That learned judge had indeed travelled somewhat out of the beaten track in his elaborate judgment. By a wide examination of authorities, ancient and modern, he had endeavoured to establish it as the doctrine of the Church of England, that there was a real presence in the consecrated elements irrespective of the recipient. He had allowed what he styled the "Receptionist" theory to be permissible, but he had laid down that the other view was the doctrine of the Church. Upon this their lordships remark very justly, "It is not the part of the Court of Arches nor of this committee to usurp the functions of a synod or council." Not content with this, they proceed to show that some of the authorities quoted in the judge's catena are very questionable, and that if "every authority had been examined, there would still remain the question that is before the committee whether the license or liberty is really allowed by the articles or formularies—whether anything has been said by the respondent which plainly contradicts them." Having thus admonished the judge, they also admonish Mr. Bennett, telling him that his words are "rash and ill-judged, and perilously near a violation of the law," and dismiss him without allowing costs.¹

11. It will be observed that in all the three judgments given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in matters of doctrine the decision has been uniformly on the side of liberty. The Calvinistic Evangelicals had a *locus standi* allowed to them by the Gorham judgment; the extreme Latitudinarians found their position secured by the decision as to *Essays and Reviews*; and the highest sacramental doc-

¹ Brooke's *Privy Council Judgments*, pp. 209-248.

trine on the subject of the Eucharist was declared to be permissible by the judgment in *Shephard v. Bennett*. That a very great latitude of opinion within the limits of the Church of England is *legal* is thus clearly manifest. But to say that a thing is legal is not to adduce any argument in favour of its truth or rightness, or in any way to testify to its value. The grossest immorality in private life may in a sense be said to be legal, inasmuch as it is not touched by any law. It is another question whether an ultimate tribunal of appeal, which is concerned merely with the driest forms of legality, is what the Church wants—whether Churchmen can ever be satisfied with sentences pronounced by such a court, and whether such decisions can in any way really affect the interpretation which ought to be put on the formularies and confessions of the Church.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DEVELOPMENT OF UNITED ACTION

1861-1871

1. Need of united action of clergy and laity. 2. Establishment of the Church congress. 3. Defects of these meetings suggest those of a different class. 4. Movement in favour of diocesan conferences. 5. The bishops somewhat slow to recognise their utility. 6. Their establishment—Diocesan synod at Lincoln. 7. The central committee of diocesan conferences. 8. Prospects of united action.

1. THE last few chapters have been occupied exclusively with the troubles and controversies which must be more or less the prominent incidents in the history of a church which possesses freedom, and does not shrink from publicity. But these things by no means represent the complete history of the Church of England. During the period that its surface was being ruffled occasionally by these disputes, the Church of England was accomplishing an amount of progress in every direction which is well worthy of admiration. In past times the great source of weakness to the Church had been the individual and separate action of its most efficient workers, and a timid fear of union, lest principles might be compromised or the much-prized independence be interfered with. The clergy, living for the most part as the heads of families in their separate parishes, and in little worlds of their own, were not forward to join with their brethren, unless personally acquainted with them and secure as to their sentiments. They had a still greater distrust of the laity, whom they pictured to themselves much more alienated and critical than they really were. These timid scruples naturally produced a corresponding abstention on the part of the laity, who could not perceive that their co-operation was really desired, and

who suspected a jealousy of their interference on the part of the clergy to a greater extent than did really exist. Thus with some few notable exceptions, such as William Wilberforce, Joshua Watson, and Henry Hoare, we do not find the laity contributing much towards the revival of the Church of England. But as Church life began to grow warmer it was seen by some of keener insight and clearer judgment among the clergy that this might easily be remedied—that a great source of power and influence was lying as it were unused before their feet. Why should not as keen an interest be shown by the laity in Church matters as was shown by them in scientific or social questions? The care for the former class of subjects was certainly much more widely spread than a regard for the latter. It seemed only to require their being popularised, and an opportunity for discussing them being given, in order to attract general attention, and excite a widespread interest in them.

2. The experiment of bringing together a Church congress, in which both clergy and laity should take part in the discussion of ecclesiastical and religious questions—papers being read to ensure the full treatment of the subjects, and free discussion afterwards invited—was first tried in Cambridge in 1861.¹ The attendance was nothing like the vast dimensions which the Church congress has since reached, but the attempt was held to have been distinctly successful, and it was determined to repeat the experiment the following year at Oxford. Under the presidency of a bishop whose tact and power were in no case more conspicuous than when he was acting as chairman of a great meeting, this gathering proved everything that could be desired, and assured the future popularity of these assemblies. The Bishop of Oxford had prudently

¹ The originators of this valuable movement were the Rev. W. J. Beaumont of Trinity College and the Ven. Archdeacon Emery. The first meeting was held in November 1861 in the hall of King's College, Cambridge. The idea originally was to get together representative Churchmen specially in connection with Church defence. But this rapidly developed into every question connected with Church life.

opposed the passing of resolutions,¹ an arrangement which has saved these large assemblies from bitterness, ill-feeling, and probably from disruption. Under the present system advocates of the most pronounced views boldly state their case, and though of course met by opposition and counter-argument, nevertheless often secure appreciation even from opponents. Theological combatants brought face to face, and enabled to hear one another's pleadings, find, to their astonishment, that there is no such great gulf of difference between them as they had imagined. Party spirit is reproved and shamed; allowances are made, and Christian fellowship is improved and strengthened. Such, unquestionably, has been the effect of these gatherings, and through them the ground has been laid for harmonious action among Churchmen in other ways.

3. The growth of the Church congresses has been remarkable. At the fourteenth, held at Brighton in 1874, the sale of tickets amounted to close upon 5000. This has since been greatly exceeded. These meetings have been held in almost all the dioceses of England, and they have not shrunk from adventuring upon the largest towns where dissent was supposed to have most power. Indeed, in some of these they have met with their most marked successes. In addition to the ordinary morning meetings to discuss ecclesiastical subjects, it was soon thought expedient to add an evening meeting specially for working men, at which some of the most attractive orators from among the clergy might address in kindly language this class which is supposed to set the least value upon religious observances. These assemblies have generally been eminently successful, and the popularity of the Church among the great masses of population has been much increased thereby. But while the Church congress had many most excellent uses—in the value of the papers which it produced, in the kindly feelings it generated, and in the interest on Church matters which it fostered—it was nevertheless plainly defective as an expression of Church opinion and Church needs. This was due to the very nature of its constitution, which did not allow resolutions,

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 51.

and which gave too much encouragement to the oratory of display. There was also but little provision and opportunity in these meetings for the voice of the less educated classes being heard. The readers of papers were selected from men supposed to be conversant with the subjects which they handled; and speakers required a certain amount of oratorical practice before they could venture to address such great and critical assemblies. There was needed a different sort of body, wherein clergy and laity, selected and deputed to act by their brethren, might meet together to take counsel on the pressing needs of the day, and might pass resolutions which would to a certain extent bind their fellows; which also would be a guide to the bishop of the diocese in endeavouring to provide for the wants of his flock. This sort of body was supplied by the establishment of diocesan conferences.

4. The movement in favour of diocesan synods or conferences began with a paper set forth by the Archdeacon of Ely in 1863, and a debate in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury of the same date. Canon Seymour, proctor for the diocese of Worcester, moved in his place in Convocation—"That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that a diocesan synod be annually held in the cathedral city of each diocese, or in some other town of the diocese which may be more convenient, to which the whole body of the clergy and of the churchwardens (being communicants) may be either personally or by representation invited; on which occasion the synod may be occupied with consultation only, and not with the business usually transacted at visitations, etc." In his speech Canon Seymour pointed out the great value of such a body for practical purposes, and especially for strengthening the hands of the bishops. "I think," he said, "this would enable them to do justice to their dioceses and to the Church at large in a way that they are not able to do at present. Every thoughtful person does, I believe, see that at this moment here lies the weakness of the Church of England. Bishops do not wield the power that is in their dioceses, nor do they move even the faithful and true portion of their diocese as one body in God's name, and for

God's work, as we all wish to see them move it."¹ He pointed out that the real cause of the riots, which took place in the dioceses of London and Exeter on the occasion of the introduction of the use of the surplice in preaching and the offertory, was that the action of the bishops was autocratic, and that they had not first taken counsel with their dioceses. Canon Seymour's motion was carried and duly communicated to their lordships, but no reply came forthwith from the Upper House.

5. It was no doubt somewhat hard for the bishops to admit the idea that any one, save themselves, had any share in the administration of the diocese. The habits of modern life, the disuse of many Church practices, above all the seat in the House of Lords, and the opportunity thus given for regulating the clergy through the legislature, had tended to encourage the notion that the bishop was something apart from his clergy and people, rather than their head—to guide them indeed, but to act with them and through them. Even a man of such wide sympathies and keen ecclesiastical insight as Bishop Wilberforce could not at first accept the idea of a diocesan conference of clergy and laity. Some six or seven years after the carrying of the resolution above given, the bishop, then translated to Winchester, "expressed his strong disinclination to institute a diocesan conference at present. I know how it will be," he said; "the bishop must always attend every meeting, while you laity may do as you please. When all goes well and smoothly you will say, 'See how well we have done it.' When there is a failure from any cause it will then be said, 'See what a muddle the bishop has made of it.'"² This utterance was hardly worthy of the bishop. As a matter of fact nothing has tended so much to improve the relations between the bishops, clergy, and laity as these meetings.

6. The utterance of the clergy in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury was re-echoed by the laity without. In 1865 a lay Churchman writes: "It has long been in the minds of zealous Churchmen to agitate for the revival of diocesan synods. I doubt whether a meeting of

¹ *Speech on Diocesan Synods*, p. 17.

² *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 376.

the clergy alone in each diocese would meet the want. Call together the clergy and laity and the same effect would follow as from a congress. If a synod is not the proper term for this, call it a diocesan conference. The annual congresses are for the Church in general. They are composed of those who live near the place where they are held, and distinguished Churchmen from a distance. The mass of Churchmen know them only from the press. But establish them in every diocese, and they will be within the reach of all.”¹ Soon in several dioceses, under various forms and with various regulations, these gatherings of clergy and laity began to be established. The first was held in the diocese of Ely in 1864 under Bishop Harold Browne. In the diocese of Lincoln the venerable bishop, Dr. Wordsworth, desirous to do everything on strict Church lines, summoned a synod of the whole of the clergy of his diocese. To this he had been invited by a memorial signed by 430 of his clergy, and he readily assented to the appeal. The synod met, to the number of upwards of 500 clergy, in the cathedral church of Lincoln, on September 20, 1871. It had been summoned principally in order that it might formally inaugurate a diocesan conference. “We need,” said the bishop, “a diocesan conference in which our lay brethren may be associated with us, and in which they may deliberate with us, not on controverted questions of theology or on the settled articles of our faith, but on various topics which arise from time to time, and vitally affect the interests of religion and the Church. You have been invited here to-day in order to settle the constitution of a representative body of the clergy by delegation, to be associated and to deliberate with a representative body of the laity to be chosen by the laity.”² The synod, after having passed some valuable resolutions laid before it by the bishop, voted the establishment of a diocesan conference to meet annually, and settled the constitution of it.

7. The growth and spread of diocesan conferences, which have been zealously taken up and carried out in almost all the dioceses of England, naturally suggested the

¹ *Co-operation of Clergy and Laity*, by J. M. Clabon, p. 6.

² *Diocesan Synods, etc.* (Bishop Wordsworth), pp. 20, 21.

desirability of giving some sort of system and unity to their action. It was evidently important that the conference of one diocese should know how the subjects in which it was interested had been handled in other dioceses; and it was also of extreme moment that the Church generally should be acquainted with the sum and substance of the deliberations and decisions in its various parts. These needs gave birth to an institution which was thought suitable for meeting them—the central committee of diocesan conferences. This body was formed by a small number of representatives, clerical and lay, chosen by the diocesan conferences, and deputed to act for them in a central body meeting in London. It is the function of this body not only to tabulate and systematise the resolutions of the various conferences, but also itself to discuss such questions as are suitable for the consideration of the conferences; thus giving a lead as it were to the diocesan discussions, and suggesting subjects which might be fittingly handled in them. Some jealousy has been exhibited towards this body, as seeming to interfere with the functions of the provincial synod; but as this latter is principally occupied with a class of subjects differing from those handled in the conferences, the two may very well exist together. At any rate, the work of exhibiting in a conspectus the results of the various conferences is clearly a most important one, and certainly tends to produce unity of action in Church work.

8. That the Church of England must learn to depend more and more upon consensual opinion of the whole body, and less upon legislation and coercive jurisdiction, is evident to all who contemplate thoughtfully the present state of affairs. The lines upon which this consensus of opinion may be arrived at seem now to have been fairly sketched. The ruri-decanal chapters, which have been long in existence in most dioceses, are well suited for the first discussion of a subject. This will then naturally pass to the diocesan conference, and from this may be brought under the notice of the provincial synod, and thus before the bishops as a body. The ultimate decisions then arrived at will probably be accepted by Churchmen, when from longer use the barriers of individualism shall have been further broken down.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FIRST PAN-ANGLICAN CONFERENCE

1867

1. The invitation to the first Lambeth conference.
2. The preface to the resolutions.
3. Opening of the conference—the archbishop's address.
4. The conference refused the use of Westminster Abbey.
5. Discussion on subordination of synods.
6. Motion for a committee to report on the whole case of Natal.
7. Motion of the Bishop of Vermont for direct approval of the excommunication.
8. The Primate advocates appointment of a committee—Carried.
9. A court of appeal for the Anglican Church.
10. Bishop of Capetown's resolution—Carried.
11. Adjourned meeting on December 10—Report on maintaining unity.
12. Report on voluntary spiritual tribunal.
13. Report on court of the metropolitan.
14. Report on election of bishops.
15. Report on a declaration of submission to synod to be made by bishop and clergy.
16. Report on provinces.
17. Report on missionary dioceses.
18. Report on the Natal scandal.

1. WE come now to record the most important act of the Anglican Church in modern times—the gathering from all quarters of the world of a large body of prelates of the Anglican rite, at the invitation of the leading prelate of that communion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to discuss solemnly questions of the gravest import to the Anglican churches throughout the world. The unhappy vagaries of Dr. Colenso, and the courageous proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown, lay at the bottom of the desire for this conference.¹ Very many bishops, especially in America and the colonies, desired to put on record their solemn condemnation of the opinions which had been broached, and to express their emphatic approval of Bishop Gray's measures. Others, seeing the difficulties which surrounded all exercise of discipline in the churches of the Anglican com-

¹ See Chap. XXI.

munion, were anxious, if possible, to formulate some scheme for their better government, and for hearing and deciding appeals. The letter of Archbishop Longley inviting the conference explains clearly the immediate causes which led him to issue it. It ran as follows :—

“LAMBETH PALACE, *February 22, 1867.*

“RIGHT REV. AND DEAR BROTHER—I request your presence at a meeting of the bishops in visible communion with the united Church of England and Ireland purposed (God willing) to be holden in Lambeth under my presidency, on the 24th September next, and the three following days.

“The circumstances under which I have resolved to issue the present invitation are these. The Metropolitan and bishops of Canada last year addressed to the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury the expression of their desire that I should be moved to invite the bishops of our Indian and colonial Episcopate to meet myself and the home bishops for brotherly communion and conference.

“The consequence of that appeal has been that both Houses of the Convocation of my province have addressed to me their dutiful request that I would invite the attendance not only of our home and colonial bishops, but of all who are avowedly in communion with our Church. The same request was unanimously preferred to me at a numerous meeting of English, Irish, and colonial archbishops and bishops, recently assembled at Lambeth, at which—I rejoice to record it—we had the counsel and concurrence of an eminent bishop of the Church in the United States of America—the Bishop of Illinois.

“Moved by these requests, and by the expressed concurrence therein of other members both of the home and colonial Episcopate, who could not be present at our meeting, I have now resolved—not, I humbly trust, without the guidance of God the Holy Ghost—to grant this grave request, and call together the meeting thus earnestly desired.

“I propose that at our assembling we should first solemnly seek the blessing of Almighty God on our gather-

ing by uniting together in the highest acts of the Church's worship. After this, brotherly consultations will follow. In these we may consider many practical questions, the settlement of which would tend to the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, and to the maintenance of greater union in our missionary work, and to increased inter-communion among ourselves.

"Such a meeting would not be competent to make declarations, or lay down definitions on points of doctrine. But united worship and common counsels would greatly tend to maintain practically the unity of the faith; whilst they would bind us in straiter bonds of peace and brotherly charity.

"I shall gladly receive from you a list of any subjects you may wish to suggest to me for consideration and discussion. Should you be unable to attend, and desire to commission any other bishop to speak for you, I shall welcome him as your representative in our united deliberations.

"But I must once more express my earnest hope that on this solemn occasion I shall have the great advantage of your personal presence.

"And now I commend this proposed meeting to your fervent prayers, and humbly beseeching the blessing of Almighty God on yourself and your diocese, I subscribe myself your faithful brother in the Lord,

"C. T. CANTUAR."

2. This invitation caused a good deal of excitement among the Anglican prelates. It was known that the Bishop of Capetown eagerly welcomed the opportunity, which this seemed to afford him, for obtaining the approval of his brethren of his vigorous proceedings against Dr. Colenso. It was known that a large proportion of the American and colonial prelates were anxious to assure him of this approval. On the other hand, some of the English bishops, who had opposed the Bishop of Capetown's proceedings throughout, dreaded nothing so much as a sort of synodical confirmation of them. Under these circumstances they applied to the Primate for an assurance that the affairs

of South Africa should not form part of the subjects for discussion, and the Primate, anxious above all things for peace, promised that they should not be specially treated. Before the meeting of the conference a programme was issued,¹ containing the resolutions to be proposed at the meetings, and also a proposed preface to be prefixed to the resolutions when carried. This preface, which was somewhat altered before its final adoption from the original form proposed, ultimately ran as follows: "We, bishops of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in visible communion with the united Church of England and Ireland, professing the faith delivered to us in Holy Scripture, maintained by the Fathers of the English Reformation, now assembled by the good providence of God in the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth, under the presidency of the Primate of all England, desire

"(1.) To give hearty thanks to Almighty God for having thus brought us together for common counsels and united worship.

"(2.) We desire to express the deep sorrow with which we view the divided condition of the Church of Christ throughout the world, ardently longing for the fulfilment of the prayer of our Lord—'That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they all may be one in us.'

"(3.) We do hereby solemnly record our conviction that unity will be most effectually promoted by maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity as it is taught in Holy Scripture, held in the Primitive Church, summed up in the creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed general councils; and by drawing each of us closer to our common Lord, by giving ourselves to much prayer and intercession, by the cultivation of a spirit of charity, and a love of the Lord's appearing."

Some of the bishops were not altogether satisfied with this document, inasmuch as no mention of general councils

¹ This programme was not sent to the colonial bishops, but only seen by them after their arrival in England. It was not, as will be seen, altogether adhered to.

was made in the first part of it.¹ This omission, however, may be considered to be rectified by the wording of the latter part.

3. The bishops assembled at Lambeth to the number of seventy-six. A solemn service was held in Lambeth Chapel. The Primate was the celebrant at the Holy Communion, and the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Illinois from Colossians i. 24. Bishop Wilberforce notes in his diary that the discourse was more remarkable for the flow of words than for striking thoughts, but he admits the service to have been a very impressive one.² At its conclusion the prelates adjourned to the "guard room" in Lambeth Palace. The Archbishop of Canterbury sat with the metropolitans on his right and left, and the other bishops grouped in front. In his address he recapitulated the objects of the gathering and its origin, as they had been set forth in his letter of invitation, and expressed much satisfaction that so many of his brethren had responded to his call. He gave a short résumé of the subjects which were to be discussed. (1.) The best way of promoting the reunion of Christendom. (2.) The notification of the establishment of new Sees. (3.) Letters commendatory for clergymen and laymen passing to different dioceses. (4.) Subordination in our colonial Church to metropolitans. (5.) Discipline to be exercised by metropolitans. (6.) Court of the metropolitans. (7.) Question of appeal. (8.) Conditions of union with the Church at home. (9.) Notification of proposed missionary bishoprics. (10.) Subordination of missionaries. He said that in the selection of topics regard had been chiefly had to those which bear on practical difficulties seeming to require solution. "The unexpected position in which our colonial churches have recently found themselves has naturally created a great feeling of uneasiness in the minds of many. I am fully persuaded that the idea of any essential separation from the mother church is universally repudiated by them. At the same time I have good reason to believe that there are various shades of opinion as to the best mode in which the

¹ See *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 347.

² *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 251.

connection between the daughter churches and their common mother can be maintained; and I trust that interchange of thought between those who are chiefly interested in these important questions will lead to some profitable conclusions." There was much to fear from the attacks of infidelity. All, he believed, had that desire for unity which was expressed in the introduction to the resolutions. He prayed that Almighty God might inspire them with such counsels as would tend to edification. Several memorials were then presented—one of great length from the English Church Union, and several which had reference to the Natal case.

4. An unpleasant incident now occurred. A desire had been expressed that the conference might have a service in Westminster Abbey, that the bishops might be seen uniting in the highest act of Christian worship. The leave of the dean was sought for this, and, to the surprise of all, Dean Stanley returned a refusal. He wrote a long letter to explain the grounds of this refusal, which seems to contain no reasons appreciable by ordinary understandings.¹ The real reason probably was that the gathering of bishops had so much the character of an ecclesiastical synod, that the anti-ecclesiastical feeling, which was a marked feature in the dean's character, led him to thwart their proceedings as much as possible. The bishops, especially the American bishops, were much offended, and it was determined to hold the concluding service in the Parish Church of Lambeth. The bishops then proceeded to discuss the wording of the preface to the resolutions, which has already been given in the form it ultimately assumed. There was a somewhat keen debate as to whether general councils should be mentioned in the first clause. It was at length decided to omit the mention of them in that place, and the wording being agreed upon the archbishop pronounced the benediction.

5. On Wednesday, September 25, the second day of the conference, a change of programme was adopted, and

¹ The Bishop of St. David's rose to explain that he was sure those present had misunderstood the dean, that he himself had been quite unable to understand the letter as it was read.—*Guardian*.

it was determined to take first into consideration Resolution 2: "That in the opinion of this conference unity in the faith and fellowship in the one body of Christ will be best maintained among the several branches of the Anglican communion in the manner already pointed out by the Convocation of the province of Canterbury, viz. by the due and canonical subjection of the synods of the several branches to the higher authority of the synods above them, the diocesan synod being recognised as inferior to the provincial synod, and the provincial synod to some higher synod or synods of the Anglican communion." A committee was proposed to report on this, and further it was proposed, "That in the judgment of the bishops now assembled, the whole Anglican communion is deeply injured by the present condition of the Church in Natal; and that a committee be now appointed at this general meeting to consider the whole case, and inquire into all the proceedings which have been taken therein, and to report on the best mode by which the Church may be delivered from the continuance of this scandal and the true faith maintained. That such report be forwarded to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with a request that, if possible, it may be communicated to the adjourned meeting of the conference, and that his Grace be requested to transmit the same to all the bishops of the Anglican communion, and to ask for their judgment thereupon." A long, vigorous, and somewhat excited debate took place with regard to the first part of this resolution. An amendment, moved by the Bishop of London, to soften its force by recommending that the provincial synods "should be guided by the advice and counsel of the national Church at home," met with but little favour, and the resolution was ultimately agreed to, the subject being referred to a committee.

6. On Thursday, September 26, came on the crucial question of the conference, namely, the second part of the above resolution, which involved the consideration of the case of Bishop Colenso. The appointment of a committee to inquire into the whole case was moved by the Bishop of New Zealand (Selwyn), who said: "We shall all feel

that this in many respects is the greatest question we have to consider to-day. It is one that has caused, and is causing, great searchings of heart. It is not my intention to say one single word in praise of the Bishop of Capetown, for I hope we shall all agree that the principle upon which our meeting is assembled together is not to praise one another, but to give glory to God. Neither shall I say one word in condemnation of Dr. Colenso, for I am not his judge. The simple duty which devolves upon me to-day is to bring the matter before you as a subject of inquiry. What is best to be done? That there is a great evil existing in the bosom of our Church in a distant land all of us must admit, and it is the duty of us all as bishops of that Church to seek a remedy for that evil. The Bishop of Capetown's judgment is valid or it is not. If it is valid, as I for one believe it to be, then I presume that it is open for this conference of bishops to affirm it to be. If the decision of the Bishop of Capetown is not valid, then no decision has been pronounced on the question of heresy in Natal. If the question is still open, we are free as a body of bishops to take the next step, and to confirm the judgment which has been pronounced, and it will then become the solemn duty of the Church at large to decide whether this, our brother, is guilty of heresy or not. The Church, as laid down in our articles, hath authority in controversies of faith. Shall we fear to exercise the powers which we already possess, and to inaugurate a plan by which the voice of the Church may speak, so that it be heard distinctly to the uttermost parts of the earth?"

7. The motion for a committee was seconded by the Bishop of Montreal, but this did not satisfy some of the more ardent spirits in the conference. The Bishop of Vermont said: "For the first time in the history of our Church we have the strange spectacle of a bishop, consecrated over the flock of Christ, publishing sentiments directly subversive of that precious word of God, and utterly destructive of the Church. For this he has been condemned, deposed, and excommunicated, according, as I believe, to true Catholic principles. And yet he stands up

and sets at defiance all that has been done by his Metropolitan, and even by the Convocations and conventions of the whole Anglican communion. The Convocations of both the provinces of England have condemned him. The Church of Scotland has condemned him. The churches in the Colonies and in the United States have condemned him, and yet against the voice of the whole Anglican communion he still stands up in resistance. Such a spectacle has, perhaps, never been beheld by the Church since the days of old Paul of Samosata. There is no single part of the Anglican communion which does not feel deeply the reproach that has been cast upon the Church of Christ, and are we to submit the matter to a committee of inquiry? All the branches of the Church have inquired, and have satisfied themselves as to the facts." The bishop then moved as an amendment the following: "Whereas Dr. John William Colenso, sometime Bishop of Natal, has taught and published many great and grievous errors against the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and utterly subversive of the Catholic faith, which errors have been condemned by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, by the Synod of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, by the general Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and by every provincial synod of the colonial churches: And whereas the said Dr. John William Colenso, after due and repeated admonition, has been deposed and excommunicated by the Metropolitan of the province of South Africa, with the unanimous consent of the synod, for the said grievous and notorious errors, involving the most destructive heresy, and nevertheless refuses obstinately to submit himself to the united voice of the whole Anglican communion, and now contumaciously acts in defiance of the same, scattering and oppressing the flock of Christ which he was appointed to feed with the saving truth of the everlasting Gospel:—Therefore, resolved, That the bishops of the Holy Catholic Church, assembled from every quarter of the Anglican communion in this present conference, do hereby declare their entire approval of the deposition and excommunication of the said Dr. John William Colenso as valid,

righteous, and just; and while they abstain from pronouncing any opinion as to the judgment of the secular courts, they will hold themselves bound to regard the said Dr. John William Colenso as a heretic cut off from the communion of the Church, until, by the grace of God, he shall renounce his grievous errors, and be openly reconciled by lawful authority, for which they devoutly pray."

8. This bold and decided utterance took many in the conference by surprise. The Bishop of St. David's immediately rose and said that the discussion of this question was equivalent to a breach of faith, as it was not in the programme, on the strength of which he had come to the conference. To this it was answered by the Bishop of Grahamstown that it was certainly in the desire of those who had sought the conference, and that in the expectation that it would be discussed the bishops had come from distant dioceses—the programme being only put into their hands after they had reached England. The Bishop of New Zealand added that the Bishop of St. David's had been openly charging against the Bishop of Capetown in his diocese, so that he could hardly with fairness advocate the withdrawal of the subject. The Bishop of Salisbury pointed out that the Primate had in fact already decided the case against Dr. Colenso by not inviting him to the conference. The Bishop of Ely suggested that they could not act synodically, and therefore could hardly accept the Bishop of Vermont's motion. The Primate then spoke. He said that there had certainly been an understanding that the case of Dr. Colenso should not be discussed. There were many objections to this. They had all condemned him already, and they had no power to add anything further. If a committee were appointed to inquire into the best means of abating the scandal now existing in Natal it might be useful, but care must be taken not to authorise such a committee to "sit upon" the proceedings of the Bishop of Capetown. He therefore proposed that the resolution should be modified as follows: "That in the judgment of the bishops here assembled the whole Anglican communion is deeply injured by the present condition of

the Church in Natal, and that a committee be now appointed, at this general meeting, to report on the best mode by which the Church may be delivered from the continuance of this scandal, and the truth maintained. That such report be forwarded to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with a request that his Grace will be pleased to transmit the same to all the bishops of the Anglican communion, and to ask their judgment thereon." This resolution was adopted by 49 to 10. There had been considerable heat displayed in the discussion, but all ended amicably.

9. An important discussion next followed as to the possibility of establishing a final court of reference or appeal, in which all the branches of the Anglican Church should be represented. A proposition to this effect was moved by the Bishop of New Zealand,¹ and seconded by the Bishop of Quebec. It was opposed by the Bishop of London, who desired that the colonial churches should apply to the legislature to establish for them a court of appeal in England. This was strongly opposed by the Bishop of Capetown, who pointed out the vast expense it would involve, and the unsatisfactory character of such a court. He said: "The colonial churches would resist to the death the imposition upon them of any legal court which would most certainly ultimately bring them to the jurisdiction of the committee of the Privy Council." In the end a proposition moved by the Bishop of Oxford was accepted by the conference. It ran as follows: "That a committee be appointed to consider the constitution of a voluntary spiritual tribunal in England, to which cases involving questions of doctrine could be appealed from the tribunals in each province, and that their report be forwarded to his Grace with a request that he will forward it, if possible, to an adjourned meeting of this conference." This being carried, the "Address to the Faithful," prepared by a committee, was read by the Bishop of Oxford, who had the principal share in its composition, all the members of the conference standing to

¹ "It would have done your heart good," writes Bishop Wilberforce, "to hear the Bishop of New Zealand at the conference lay it on the Erastianism of so many of our body."—*Life*, iii. 233.

signify their approval.¹ On Friday, September 27, all the bishops signed the address, and the archbishop was requested to read it from the altar at Lambeth Church on the following day. It was agreed that the conference should be summoned again before Christmas to hear the reports of the committees. Also that the proceedings should not be published.

10. The meeting was almost at an end when suddenly a matter of the greatest interest and importance was brought before it. The Bishop of Capetown moved the following resolution: "That we, who are here present, do acquiesce in the resolution of the Convocation of Canterbury, passed June 29, 1866, relating to the diocese of Natal, to wit, If it should be decided that a new bishop should be consecrated,—as to the proper steps to be taken by the province of Natal for obtaining a new bishop—it is the opinion of this House, first, that a formal instrument, declaratory of the doctrine and discipline of the Church in South Africa should be prepared, which every bishop, priest, and deacon to be appointed to office should be required to subscribe; secondly, that a godly and well-learned man should be chosen by the clergy with the assent of the lay communicants of the Church; and thirdly, that he should be presented for consecration either to the Archbishop of Canterbury, if the aforesaid instrument should declare the doctrine and discipline of Christ as received by the united Church of England and Ireland, or to the bishops of the Church of South Africa, according as hereafter may be judged to be most advisable and convenient." This was seconded by the Bishop of Oxford, and caused considerable excitement. The Bishops of London and St. David's, who had opposed the Bishop of Capetown's proceedings throughout, found themselves invited to affirm a resolution which, in fact, implied the See of Natal to be vacant; and the difficulty was, that they had already voted for this resolution in Convocation, not perhaps clearly perceiving what it involved. They now wished to draw back, but in vain. The Bishop of Capetown did not spare them. "I repeat again," he said,

¹ The address, with the names of the bishops who signed it, will be found in Notes and Illustrations.

“Dr. Colenso’s present position in Natal is largely owing to the attitude taken by the bishops of London, St. David’s, Ely and Lincoln.” The resolution, in spite of the manifest repugnance of many members, was carried by 40 to 3.¹ The conference thus did not terminate without somewhat of a triumph for the noble-hearted Bishop of Capetown; although the Bishop of New Zealand, a prelate of a kindred spirit, was not without justification when he “made some sharp remarks both upon Dean Stanley’s objections to place the Abbey at the disposal of the conference, and also upon the want of support which the Bishop of Capetown had experienced.”²

11. At the concluding service on Saturday, September 28, in Lambeth Church, thirty-four bishops were present, and a large number of clergy. On December 10 the adjourned meeting of the conference was held at Lambeth, and the reports of the committees were presented.³ The following is an abstract of these reports:—*On the best means of maintaining unity in faith and discipline among the several branches of the Anglican communion.* The committee recommends the organisation of synodal order. (1.) The diocesan synod to be composed of both clergy and laity, being communicants and of the age of twenty-one. The office of this body being to make regulations for the order and good government of the Church in the diocese, and to promulgate the decision of the provincial synod. (2.) The provincial synod to consist of the bishops of the province, and representatives of the clergy and laity of each diocese. Its office to exercise, as to provincial questions, powers similar to those of diocesan synod for diocesan questions. The diocesan synod to be bound to accept its decisions.

¹ Bishop Wilberforce notes in his diary—“Carried against London, Winchester, and St. David’s, an acquiescence in the advice tendered by Convocation to Natal.”—*Life*, iii. 231. *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 354.

² *Guardian*. The declaration signed by fifty-six bishops, given in Chap. XXI., was probably a sufficient testimony of the opinion of his brethren.

³ These reports were received and directed to be published. It does not appear that they were formally adopted by the conference.

(3.) The committee recommend the organisation of a higher or general synod, which should be convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and consist of the bishop, a presbyter, and lay member of the Church of each diocese. They recommend nothing as to the time of its meeting or the periods.

12. *A voluntary spiritual tribunal for hearing appeals.*—This the committee recommend should be formed, but should not take cognisance of any case which shall not have been referred to it by some branch of the Anglican communion, which shall have consented to its formation. The tribunal should consider the facts of the case as sent to it in writing; but its decision should not be on the facts, but upon the points of doctrine and discipline involved in them. Archbishops and bishops only should be judges, the Archbishop of Canterbury being president. Each province should have the right of electing two members; and the dioceses not associated in provinces should elect two. The Church in America, if it joined the scheme, might elect five. The president should nominate as assessors three theologians, and three persons learned in the law. Two-thirds of the judges to assent to a sentence. Each member to give his decision in writing, which might be read openly in the court; and the judgment of the prescribed majority to be the judgment of the tribunal.

13. *The courts of metropolitans and the trial of a bishop or metropolitan.*—The committee recommend that each province should determine, by rules made in its synod, the offences for which a bishop may be presented for trial, and who should be promoters of the charge. This charge to be presented to the metropolitan, who is to summon to the hearing all the bishops of the province except the accused. There must be two-thirds of the bishops of a province for a trial, and at least three; if this number unable to attend, bishops of another province may be invited. It is desirable that there should be assessors as in the higher tribunal of appeal. Two-thirds of the judges must concur to make a sentence. An appeal to be allowed means involving discipline and doctrine. A metropolitan to be tried as any other bishop.

14. *Election of bishops.*—A bishop should be elected by the diocese, and the bishops of the province should confirm the election. The right of selecting the person to belong to the clergy, the laity having the right to accept or reject the person chosen. It is expedient that the election should be made by the diocesan synod. Where no diocesan synod exists, a convention should be summoned by the dean, senior archdeacon, or senior presbyter. Where the diocese forms part of a province the confirmation should be by the metropolitan and a majority of the bishops. When the diocese is extra-provincial, then by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London.

15. *Declaration of submission to regulations of synod.*—The committee recommend that the declaration following be made by all bishops-elect before consecration:—"I, A B, chosen bishop of the Church and See of —, do promise that I will teach and maintain the doctrine and discipline of the united Church of England and Ireland as acknowledged and received by the province of —; and I also declare that I consent to be bound by all the rules and regulations which have heretofore been made, or which may from time to time be made by the synod of the diocese of — and the provincial synod of —, or either of them; and in consideration of being appointed bishop of the said Church or See of —, I hereby undertake to resign immediately the said appointment together with all rights and emoluments appertaining thereto, if sentence requiring such resignation should at any time be passed upon me, after due examination had by the tribunal acknowledged by the synod of the said province for the trial of a bishop, saving all rights of appeal allowed by the said synod." A similar declaration to be made by those to be admitted to Holy Orders, and by clergymen admitted to the cure of souls.

16. *Of provinces and subordination to metropolitans.*—The committee reports that the association or federation of dioceses within certain territorial limits, commonly called an ecclesiastical province, is not only in accordance with the ancient laws and usages of the Christian Church, but is essential to its complete organisation. Such an association

is of the highest advantage for united action, for the exercise of discipline, for the confirmation of the election of bishops, and generally to enable the Church to adapt its laws to the circumstances of the countries in which it is planted. It is expedient that these ecclesiastical divisions should follow the civil divisions of the country. One bishop in such division should be metropolitan or primus; his functions to be defined by synodical action in the province. They recommend that the metropolitical See should be fixed, but do not hold this as essential. They recommend that those dioceses that are not yet formed into provinces should be so formed, which must be done by the subordination of the bishops to one chosen to be a metropolitan, and by the concurrence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the oath of canonical obedience has been taken.

17. *Notification of proposed missionary bishoprics and subordination of missionaries.*—The committee reports that every branch of the Church is entitled to found a missionary bishopric. That notice of the erection of a missionary bishopric, and the choice and consecration of the bishop, should be made to all archbishops and metropolitans and presiding bishops of the Anglican communion. The district for the bishop should be defined as far as possible, and no other bishop should be sent to exercise episcopal functions within the same district. Continental chaplaincies should be under some one episcopal authority either of an English or American bishop. A missionary bishop may be brought within a provincial organisation by the request of the bishop to the Church from which he received mission, and to the province which he wishes to join; the consent of these being received, the status of such a bishop must be defined by the synod of the province which he has joined. In some cases it may be expedient that he should be joined to a province not the nearest. The missionary Church must be bound by the acts of the Church of the province into which it is received, and should have representation in the synod. All missionaries and chaplains exercising their office within the diocese of a colonial or missionary bishop should have the license of such bishop, and be subject to his authority. Clergymen

removing from one diocese to another must have letters dimissory from the bishop.

18. The committee appointed to consider the Natal scandal reports that the Colonial Bishops Council should be memorialised to the effect that a legal decision should be obtained authorising the said council no longer to pay his stipend to Dr. Colenso. They also submit—

(1.) That in 1863 forty-one bishops concurred in an address to Bishop Colenso urging him to resign his bishopric.

(2.) That in the year 1863 some of the publications of Bishop Colenso were condemned by the Convocation of Canterbury.

(3.) That the Bishop of Capetown, by virtue of his letters patent as metropolitan, might have visited Dr. Colenso with summary jurisdiction, and taken the management of his diocese out of his hands.

(4.) That instead of doing this he instituted judicial proceedings; that Dr. Colenso was condemned and did not appeal.

(5.) That this act of the African Church was approved By the Convocation of Canterbury.

By the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States.

By the Episcopal Synod of the Church of Scotland.

By the Provincial Synod of the Church in Canada.

By fifty-six bishops at the Lambeth Conference.

They judge, therefore, the See to be spiritually vacant, and deem it to be the duty of the metropolitan and other bishops of South Africa to proceed upon the election of the clergy and laity of Natal to consecrate one to discharge those spiritual functions, of which the members of the Church in Natal are now in want.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

(I.) THE ADDRESS TO THE
FAITHFUL.

We, the undersigned bishops,

gathered under the good providence
of God for prayer and conference at
Lambeth, pray for you that ye may
obtain grace, mercy, and peace from

God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

We give thanks to God, brethren beloved, for the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love toward the saints which hath abounded amongst you, and for the knowledge of Christ, which through you hath been spread abroad among the most vigorous races of the earth: and with one mouth we make our supplications to God, even the Father, that by the power of the Holy Ghost He would strengthen us with His might, to amend among us the things which are amiss, to supply the things which are lacking, and to reach forth unto higher measures of love and zeal in worshipping Him, and in making known His name; and we pray that in His own good time, He would give back to His whole Church the blessed gift of unity in truth.

And now we exhort you in love, that ye keep whole and undefiled the faith once delivered to the saints as ye have received it of the Lord Jesus. We entreat you to watch and pray and to strive heartily with us against the frauds and subtleties wherewith the faith hath been aforetime and is now assailed.

We beseech you to hold fast, as the sure Word of God, all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and that by diligent study of these oracles of God, praying in the Holy Ghost, ye seek to know more of the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, very God and very man, ever to be adored and worshipped, whom they reveal unto us, and of the will of God which they declare.

Furthermore we entreat you to guard yourselves and yours against the growing superstitions and additions with which in these latter days the truth of God hath been overlaid; as otherwise, so especially by the pretension to universal sovereignty over God's heritage asserted by the See of Rome, and by the practical exalt-

ation of the blessed Virgin Mary as mediator in the place of her Divine Son, and by the addressing of prayers to her as intercessor between God and man. Of such beware, we beseech you, knowing that the jealous God giveth not His glory to another.

Build yourselves up, therefore, beloved, in your most holy faith; grow in grace and in the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ our Lord. Show forth before all men by your faith, self-denial, purity, and godly conversation, as well as by your labours for the people among whom God hath so widely spread you, and by the setting forth of His Gospel to the unbelievers and the heathen, that ye are indeed the servants of Him who died for us to reconcile His Father to us, and to be a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world.

Brethren beloved, with one voice we warn you: the time is short, the Lord cometh: watch and be sober. Abide steadfast in the communion of saints wherein God hath granted you a place. Seek in faith for oneness with Christ in the blessed sacrament of His body and blood. Hold fast the creeds and the pure worship and order which of God's grace ye have inherited from the Primitive Church. Beware of causing divisions contrary to the doctrine ye have received. Pray and seek for unity amongst yourselves, and amongst all the faithful in Christ Jesus; and the good Lord make you perfect, and keep your bodies, souls, and spirits until the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.

(II.) NAMES OF PRELATES WHO SIGNED THE ENCYCLICAL.

- C. T. Cantuar. (Longley).
- M. G. Armagh (Beresford).
- R. C. Dublin (Trench).
- A. C. London (Tait).
- C. R. Winton (Sumner).
- C. St. David's (Thirlwall).

- J. Lichfield (Lonsdale).
 S. Oxon. (Wilberforce).
 Thomas Vowler St. Asaph (Short).
 A. Llandaff (Olliphant).
 John Lincoln (Jackson).
 W. K. Sarum (Hamilton).
 John T. Norwich (Pelham).
 J. C. Bangor (Campbell).
 H. Worcester (Philpott).
 C. J. Gloucester and Bristol (Ellcott).
 E. H. Ely (Browne).
 William Chester (Jacobson).
 T. L. Rochester (Claughton).
 Horace Sodor and Man (Powys).
 Samuel Meath (Butcher).
 H. Kilmore (Verschoyle).
 Charles Limerick (Graves).
 Robert Eden, Bishop of Moray and Ross.
 Alexander Ewing, Argyll and the Isles.
 Charles Wordsworth, St. Andrews.
 Thos. G. Suther, Aberdeen.
 William Wilson, Glasgow.
 T. B. Morrell, Coadjutor, Edinburgh.
 F. Montreal, Metropolitan of Canada (Fulford).
 G. A. New Zealand, Metropolitan of New Zealand (Selwyn).
 R. Capetown, Metropolitan of South Africa (Gray).
 T. Barbadoes (Parry).
 Aubrey G. Jamaica (Spencer).
 J. Bombay (Harding).
 H. Nova Scotia (Binney).
 F. T. Labuan (M'Dougall).
 H. Grahamstown (Cotterill).
 H. J. C. Christ Church (Harper).
 Matthew Perth (Hale).
 Benj. Huron (Cronyn).
 W. W. Antigua (Jackson).
 E. H. Sierra Leone (Beckles).
 T. W. Honolulu (Staley).
 J. T. Ontario (Lewis).
 J. W. Quebec (Williams).
 W. Gibraltar (Trower).
 H. L. Dunedin (Jenner).
 Edward Orange River (Twells).
 A. N. Niagara (Bethune).
 W. G. Tozer, Missionary Bishop.
- J. B. Kelley, Coadjutor, Newfoundland.
 S. Angl. Hierosol. (Gobat).
 John H. Hopkins, Pres. Bishop, U.S.A.
 C. P. M'Ilvaine, Bishop of Ohio.
 Manton Eastburn, Massachusetts.
 J. Payne, Cape Palmas.
 H. J. Whitehouse, Illinois.
 Thomas Atkinson, N. Carolina.
 Henry W. Lee, Iowa.
 Horatio Potter, New York.
 Thomas M. Clark, Rhode Island.
 Alexander Gregg, Texas.
 W. H. Odenheimer, New Jersey.
 G. T. Bedell, Assistant, Ohio.
 Henry C. Lay, Missionary Bishop, Arkansas.
 Jos. C. Talbot, Missionary Bishop, Indiana.
 Richard H. Wilmer, Alabama.
 Charles Todd Quintard, Tennessee.
 John B. Kerfoot, Peterburg.
 J. P. B. Wilmer, Louisiana.
 C. M. Williams, Missionary, China.
 J. Chapman, late Colombo.
 George Smith, late Victoria.
 David Anderson, late Rupert's Land.
 Edmund Hobhouse, late Nelson.
- The following signified to the Primate their assent and consent to the above Encyclical Address :—
- A. T. Chichester (Gilbert).
 Auckland (Bath and Wells).
 Robert Down and Connor (Knox).
 Edward Newfoundland (Feild).
 J. Fredericton (Medley).
 T. E. St. Helena (Welby).
 J. P. Forbes, Brechin.
 J. Williams, Connecticut.
 G. Columbia (Hills).
 Aug. Adelaide (Short).
 R. Rupert's Land (Machray).
 Piers Colombo (Claughton).
 E. W. Brisbane (Tuffnell).
- | | |
|---------|----|
| Present | 76 |
| Assents | 13 |
| | — |
| | 89 |
| | == |

CHAPTER XXVI.

MISSIONARY BISHOPS

1861-1883

1. The best way of obtaining missionary bishops. 2. Formation of the mission to Central Africa. 3. Archdeacon Mackenzie sails to Capetown for consecration. 4. The mission proceeds to the Zambesi. 5. Consecration of the Bishop of Honolulu. 6. Consecration of two bishops for Africa as suffragans to the Metropolitan of Capetown. 7. Transfer of the Zambesi mission to Zanzibar. 8. Bishop Patteson consecrated for Melanesia—His death. 9. Consecration of the Bishop of Zululand—Difficulties as to the oath. 10. Sierra Leone—Consecration of Bishop Crowther. 11. Missionary bishops in China. 12. The first Anglican bishop of Japan.

1. As the Church of England grew in power and energy at home, it was a natural consequence that she should make herself more and more felt in missionary work. This is an expression of zeal recognised as essential by all Christian bodies, and though in times past but slackly cared for by the Church of England, yet now in her awakened life its importance was clearly perceived. And together with the sense of the obligation to do the work came anxious considerations as to how the work could be best done. The employment of isolated missionaries under the direction of a society in England did not seem to many to offer the best promise of success, and as a matter of fact the success of such a system did not at all correspond with the devotion and cost bestowed upon it. On the other hand, the foundation of new Sees as centres for guidance and direction near at hand, and with the power of adapting organisations to the special wants of the locality or the occasion, had proved eminently successful, not only for reviving the Church in the colonies, but also for evangelistic work among the neighbouring heathen. It thus became a matter

of conviction with many that in order to the success of a mission it was necessary that from the first it should be headed by a bishop, competent to confirm and confer orders; to direct, supervise, and encourage his fellow-labourers. Owing, however, to the strange jealousy of the episcopal office, which has always more or less existed in the Church of England, and has sometimes been entertained even by bishops themselves,¹ this arrangement was opposed by many. It is true that it had been in a manner legalised by the Jerusalem Bishoprics Act. But this Act was a clumsy contrivance, devised in no Church spirit, requiring for the bishop to be consecrated a license from the Queen, and a promise of subjection to the See of Canterbury. Under this Act the bishops most favourable to the legitimate extension of the missionary work of the Church felt great repugnance to proceed.² Various attempts had been made by the Bishop of Oxford to carry through Parliament an Act authorising a more satisfactory arrangement for appointing missionary bishops—whether such attempts were wise may well be doubted. They served to evoke violent opposition,³ and it was thought by many that the most legitimate method of obtaining missionary bishops was for them to be consecrated in the colonies nearest to the scene of their proposed labours. This was done in the case of Dr. M'Dougall, consecrated at Calcutta in 1855, as (in effect) missionary bishop for the island of Borneo; but still preserving the semblance of a colonial bishop, by taking his title from the little island of Labuan, a dependency of the English Crown. He was the first Anglican bishop consecrated out of England.

¹ "To S. P. G. to hear the results of bishops' meeting about missionary bishops—Came to no conclusion—Lord Shaftesbury's bishops all met to oppose—Archbishop and Bishop of Winchester also."—Bishop Gray's *Journal*.—*Life of Bishop Gray*, i. 432.

² Bishop Wilberforce writes, "I simply refuse, because the Act proceeds on the most vicious fallacy of assuming that the Queen has spiritual power external to her dominions, and jurisdiction by it."—*Ib.* iii. 39.

³ "I gather from what Lord Shaftesbury said to me, and I understand, that the real opposition is from Lord Shaftesbury and the Church Missionary Society."—*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 37.

2. In the year 1856 the famous traveller Dr. Livingstone, having for sixteen years travelled in Africa, and made his way right across that vast continent, returned to England, and appealed to the universities to send out a mission to the valley of the Zambesi River in Africa where, in his opinion, the best effects might be anticipated. This proposal was not at first taken up with much readiness, and Dr. Livingstone returned to Africa without having seen any great prospect of obtaining his wishes. But in 1858 the Bishop of Capetown was in England, and the intense earnestness and power of this great prelate made themselves felt in stirring up missionary zeal for Africa. On May 17 (1859) the Bishop of Oxford presided over a large meeting in the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, for the purpose of forming what was to be called the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa. A second meeting with the same object was held at Cambridge on November 1. The bishop describes this as "a most wonderful gathering—2500 people," which "fairly launched the mission to Central Africa."¹ Committees were formed in Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and a sufficiency of funds was soon secured to warrant the consecration of a bishop.

3. When the question arose as to the person fitted to undertake this important duty there seemed at once to be a man at hand eminently suited for it. Mr. Mackenzie, who had gained high distinction and great popularity at Cambridge, had gone out to Africa with Bishop Colenso, and after spending some years there as archdeacon, and having been judged by the bishop the most suitable person to head a mission to Zululand, had returned to England to make preparations for this work. In every way he seemed to be specially qualified for the headship of the new mission, and he was willing to undertake the arduous post. Mr. Mackenzie was as well furnished with physical as he was with spiritual gifts, and wherever he went, in order to raise the necessary funds and procure the necessary helpers, he was most cordially received. This was not to be a mere mission of clergy. There were to be lay helpers, artisans and labourers; and a steamer, which

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, ii. 422. *Under His Banner*, p. 139.

had been sent to Dr. Livingstone by the Government, was to convey the party up the Zambesi River. Then arose the difficulty as to the consecration of the bishop. There seemed to be insuperable obstacles as to his being consecrated in England, and in May 1860 the matter was brought by the Bishop of Oxford before the Convocation of Canterbury. A committee of the Lower House having reported, the bishop moved: "That this House, having heard, with thankfulness to God, of the prospect of a mission being led by the Venerable Archdeacon Mackenzie into Southern Central Africa, desire to express their deep interest therein, and their hope that the Bishop of Capetown and his comprovincials may be able to see fit to admit the head of this mission into the episcopal order before he be sent forth to the heathen." The bishop reminded the House, that an important principle as to the conduct of missions was involved, and that the decision of the House might remove difficulties which many of those most anxious to spread the Gospel have felt, and be a guide to the future conduct of missions. The resolution was adopted unanimously, and in October Archdeacon Mackenzie, accompanied by three clergy (Messrs. Proctor, Scudamore, and Rowley) and three laymen, sailed for the Cape. They arrived there November 14, and found Bishop Gray, as metropolitan, busily engaged in making preparations for the consecration.

4. This was no easy matter. The suffragans who were to join with him (Natal, Grahamstown, St. Helena) "raised all sorts of questions and difficulties."¹ The Bishop of Grahamstown missed his ship, and could not arrive in time. There were great fears lest the Bishop of St. Helena might also fail. The Bishop of Natal was waiting at the Cape, but (writes Bishop Gray), "I have great difficulty in keeping him."² At last, on January 1, 1861, the Feast of the Circumcision, the consecration took place in the cathedral, the Bishops of Natal and St. Helena joining the Metropolitan in the laying on of hands. Immediately after the consecration Bishop Mackenzie and his party proceeded to the spot recommended by Dr. Livingstone. They had

¹ *Life of Bishop Gray*, i. 468.

² *Ib.* p. 469.

great difficulty in reaching it, Dr. Livingstone's directions having proved somewhat erroneous ; but after many weeks of labour they arrived at a place called Magomero, on the Zambesi River, 4000 feet above the sea level. Here they began to instruct some rescued slaves, but fever soon appeared, and there was also famine in the land. On January 31, 1862, the gallant and much-loved Bishop Mackenzie died on the island of Malo, but his companions bravely held their ground, though the place had evidently been ill chosen, and but little could be done in the way of missionary work.

5. The difficulty of obtaining the consecration in England of a missionary bishop was not yet removed, when a sudden and pressing call for one arose. In 1860 Kamehameha IV., the King of Hawaii, a man of great intelligence, and a firm believer in Christianity, had petitioned the English Government to have some teachers of the Church of England sent to his dominions. He had become attached to the English Church, had translated the Prayer Book into Hawaiian, and had prefixed to it a preface of much value. It was evident that, if his request was to be granted, and if the Church of England was to be established in his kingdom, a bishop must certainly be sent. But here the difficulty arose. Must the bishop be consecrated under the Jerusalem Bishoprics Act with the restrictions and obligations which were so out of place for a missionary bishop? The opinion of the law officers of the crown had been obtained when the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie was contemplated, and they had declared that there was no legal impediment to the English bishops consecrating a missionary bishop without the formalities of the Act, but at the same time they advised them not to do so. This singular opinion was somewhat of a difficulty to the archbishop, and when, at the instance of the Bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor informed him that in giving the opinion that there was no *legal* difficulty he had always meant to imply "if the Queen gave her license," the matter seemed hopelessly stopped.¹ But it was soon seen by unprejudiced persons that for very shame the thing

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 59.

must now be carried on. A royal license was therefore obtained, and on December 15 (1861) Mr. Staley was consecrated at Lambeth to the See of Honolulu, being the first missionary bishop consecrated in England.

6. Other consecrations of missionary bishops soon followed. In Africa the Orange River territory, though abandoned by the English Government and peopled by the Dutch, who had migrated from the Cape, yet contained a very large number of English settlers, for whom it was necessary to provide the ministrations of the Church. It was determined therefore, under the better influences now prevailing, to consecrate a bishop of Bloemfontein for the Orange Free State, who thus had the character of a missionary bishop. At the same time there was the vacancy made by the unhappy death of Bishop Mackenzie to be filled, and thus two missionary bishops for Africa had to be consecrated. The energetic Bishop of Capetown came to England in 1862, principally with a view of getting these two appointments made and the consecrations duly carried out. Mr. Tozer, vicar of Burgh-in-the-Marsh, Lincolnshire, was chosen to succeed to the Zambesi bishopric, and Mr. Twells, incumbent of St. John's, Hammersmith, to that of the Orange State. Bishop Gray writes: "I have had immense difficulties and anxieties about this. On Saturday the archbishop's secretary wrote to tell me that in his judgment the oath of canonical obedience could not, by the Jerusalem Act, be made to the Metropolitan of South Africa. I went down at once to Addington and told the archbishop I could not join, but must formally protest against the consecration. Archbishop most anxious to do as I wished, but timid about law. I did not know until I came back from preaching for Zambesi at ten o'clock at night that all would be right, and I went down in the morning still with my protest in my pocket. If I had not been very firm we should have had two jurisdictions, and, as far as we could make it, two churches, and the Jerusalem Act would have carried the day."¹ This happily was averted, and the two bishops were consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the Feast of the Purification, February

¹ *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 17.

2, 1863, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Metropolitan of Africa, the Bishop of Oxford, and the Bishops of Lincoln and Montreal, without taking the oath of obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury as metropolitan.

7. When the new bishop arrived at the mouth of the Zambesi he found things in a miserable state. All were weak, and suffering from repeated fever attacks. He was accompanied by two excellent helpers, Dr. Steere and Mr. Alington, and it became a serious question whether more valuable European life and power should be sacrificed in this unhealthy spot, in order not to abandon the work which had been so bravely begun, or whether prudence did not imperatively demand a transfer to a more hopeful locality. The latter course was decided on. The great difficulty was what to do with those natives who had been rescued from the slave-traders, and had become devotedly attached to the mission. Must they be abandoned again to all the cruelties of that dreadful traffic? Happily it was found possible to place some of them under the protection of a friendly chief, while some women and boys were conveyed to the Cape by the devoted care of Mr. Waller. Two of the original mission party were invalided home, and Bishop Tozer and his staff proceeded to Zanzibar, an island which was the very centre and headquarters of the slave-trade, where the missionaries would be brought into contact with people of all the various races of Africa, and where they might hope, in conjunction with the armed naval forces of England, to do something towards the extinction of this terrible curse of humanity. The change of the locality of the See, though much exclaimed against by many, has been proved to have been an eminently wise step. Excellent results have followed. Bishop Tozer having been obliged, through failure of health, to abandon his work, was succeeded by Bishop Steere, one of the greatest missionary bishops of modern times. Endowed with singular linguistic powers, he was able to translate the Scriptures and the Prayer Book into the dialect best known and most used in the locality,¹ and to erect a

¹ The devoted labours of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Drs. Krapf and Rebmann, and the translations made by them,

church on the very site of the old slave market. Zanzibar has proved to be a centre from which the neighbouring continent could be most hopefully attacked.

8. In no part of the world have the missionary labours of the Church of England been more conspicuous and more admirable than among the islands of the Pacific. The zeal, energy, and tact of Bishop Selwyn, the first bishop of New Zealand, had been long employed in visiting, at the utmost risk, in his missionary ship, various groups of islands, and by presents and kind promises inducing the natives to entrust to him some of their boys for education. There seemed no other hopeful plan for spreading Christianity in these islands, where every group spoke a different dialect, and where the work of European missionaries would be almost useless. These boys, carried away by the bishop, were tenderly treated and carefully taught. The language which seemed known to the greatest numbers of them (Mota) was used as the medium of instruction. They were established first in a college near Auckland, and when this was found too cold for them, were transferred to Norfolk Island. Before this was done the care of these youths had passed out of Bishop Selwyn's hands into that of one who has left behind him an undying memorial of devotion even unto death. Mr. Patteson had for some years worked with Bishop Selwyn as his chaplain, and in 1861 he was consecrated in New Zealand missionary bishop for the islands (Melanesia), and the whole charge of the work fell into his hands. With what zeal and devotion he performed it, in spite of the dangers which menaced him, has been told in the most effective manner.¹ The dangers which threatened came not so much from the primary opposition of the savage natives, who soon learned to love and reverence the white man who never deceived them, as from the effects of the brutal outrages in kidnapping and man-stealing committed by the crews of European and American trading-ships, which carried away the natives to be used as forced labourers in

were an assistance to Dr. Steere in his work. See *The English Church in other Lands*, p. 146.

¹ See *Life of Bishop Patteson*, by Miss Yonge.

Australia. In revenge for these treacherous acts, at the island of Nukapu, in September 1871, Bishop Patteson and his companions were killed by a discharge of poisoned arrows, the natives, even after their vengeance, testifying their reverence for the bishop by placing his body in a canoe and floating it off towards the ship.

9. The consecration of the next missionary bishop of the Church of England revived some of the unhappy disputes and differences with his English brethren, which gave so much trouble to the noble-hearted Bishop of Capetown. Some of Bishop Mackenzie's earlier work had been among the Zulus, and he was preparing for a mission to them when he was turned aside to the Zambesi. In consequence, it seemed to his sister that no more fitting memorial of his devoted life could be made than the establishment of a See in Zululand. The requisite funds were raised, and a suitable person was found for the See, when the Bishop of Capetown, being informed of what was proposed, wrote to Miss Mackenzie to the effect, that the new bishop could not be received as a bishop of the province of South Africa, if he took the oath of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and not to himself, as the metropolitan. All the bishops, he said, hitherto consecrated for South Africa had taken the oath to himself, and he could not in any way consent to its omission. Bishop Wilberforce (now of Winchester) was in a great difficulty. He was most anxious to support the Bishop of Capetown, but also desirous that the consecration should take place without delay. He therefore devised a compromise, which seems somewhat questionable, but was, perhaps, rendered necessary by the circumstances of the case. The bishop at his consecration was to take the oath to the English Primatial See. This was to be done (he writes to the Bishop of Capetown) "in token of general fealty to the English Church; but it was to be repeated to you before he did any episcopal act, and his mission was to be from you, and his responsibility to you, there being no appeal from you." As a matter of fact, Bishop Wilkinson took the oath to the Archbishop of York, who acted as chief consecrator, "York explaining

that it was to be transferred to you by a new oath, like an oath of canonical obedience taken to a new bishop, before he officiated in your province.”¹ It was hardly probable that Bishop Gray, who had been compelled to learn a good deal of Church law, could be satisfied with this arrangement. He had no objection to the recognition of the *patriarchal* claims of Canterbury, but, he points out, “If he were a patriarch he would not be entitled to take, at consecration, an oath of obedience from the suffragan of another province.” “I doubt whether, with my view as to what the consecration oath implies, I ought to put to the bishop another oath which might seem to be at variance with that already taken.” “The introducing another system, which I hold to be entirely uncanonical, is in my view simply destructive of the unity and discipline of colonial churches, for with us everything hinges upon the oath.”² Before this was written Bishop Wilkinson was consecrated at Westminster Abbey (May 8, 1870), and the irregularity had to be condoned.

10. Some of the greatest triumphs of the Church Missionary Society have been won on the western coast of Africa among the liberated slaves, and in the midst of the festering swamps and malarious jungles of that pestilential region. Even before the peninsula of Sierra Leone became a British colony (1808) the missionaries of the Society were at work there, and ever since that time their labours have been continued. The heroism displayed by those who have taken their lives in their hands to minister to the liberated slaves, brought here in great numbers by the English cruisers, has been truly remarkable. In the first twenty years of the existence of the mission fifty-three missionaries or missionaries' wives died at their posts.³ Sierra Leone became a diocese in 1852, and the first three bishops—Vidal, Weeks, and Bowen—died within eight years of the creation of the See. A native ministry was raised up, and from these headquarters have gone forth evangelists for other parts of Africa. The

¹ Bishop Wilberforce to Bishop Gray, *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 498.

² Bishop Gray to Bishop Wilberforce, *Life of Bishop Gray*, ii. 500.

³ *The English Church in other Lands*, p. 153.

opening of the mouth of the Niger for commerce made a way for the missionaries into the interior of the country, and one of them, Samuel Crowther, established himself at Onitsha. Mr. Crowther was born a slave, and bartered again and again from one trader to another. At length it was his good fortune to be captured at sea by an English cruiser and brought into Sierra Leone. Here he met with kind treatment, was taught and educated, and, giving great promise of proficiency, his education was afterwards completed in England under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. Returning to Sierra Leone and taking part in the mission work, he was happy enough to meet with his mother and sisters, whom he led to embrace Christianity. Having been ordained, he was selected to head the mission in the Niger country, and established himself at Onitsha. In spite of the greatest obstacles and dangers from the savage kings in its neighbourhood, the mission, conducted entirely by native clergy and teachers, flourished and increased. In 1864 it was wisely determined that the man who had done so much for it should be raised to the highest order in the Church, and Samuel Crowther, once a slave boy, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey, the first coloured bishop of the Church of England.

11. In any attempt to chronicle the beginnings of the churches which have sprung as offshoots from the Church of England there should not be an omission of China. Here England acquired territory in 1849, and there soon followed a bishop and a cathedral at Hong-Kong. The number of English in the Treaty Ports doubtless needed an episcopal head, but the bishop was also designed to act as a missionary chief, and direct any attempts that might be made by English clergy to influence this strange people. The American Church had been beforeband with the English, but no rivalry exists between these kindred churches. All Christian bodies, indeed, may well find scope for labour in this vast mission field without mutual interference. Other English bishops of a purely missionary character have followed,¹ and the Church of England aspires

¹ Mid-China, founded 1872; North China, founded 1880. The American Sees are Shanghai, founded 1844; Yedo, 1866.

not to be the last of the churches which have directed their energies against this massive barrier of false beliefs. For centuries the Roman Church has laboured in China, and deeds of most striking heroism have been done by its many martyred missionaries. The results, though not despicable, seem to be as nothing in face of that vast population. If we add to the Roman converts those of all Protestant bodies, the result is not appreciably altered. There is, however, an influence at work which may encourage those most interested in the spread of Christianity throughout the world not to despair. The Chinese are essentially emigrants—overcrowded in their own land they press into all other lands where employment and wages can be found, and by their skill, docility and perseverance succeed in numberless ways. In the lands of their adoption they show themselves more susceptible of instruction, and more ready to give a hearing to the claims of Christianity, and as every Chinaman hopes to return to his own land when he has acquired a little substance, there is the possibility of Christianity being thus introduced at many points, and under favourable circumstances.

12. The last of the missionary Sees which it falls within the compass of this work to mention is that of Japan, founded in 1883.¹ This country, so long jealously closed against Europeans, has at length opened its doors again to Christian teachers, and many missionaries are at work among its clever and gentle population, with a good hope of reviving Christianity in the land. The traditions of the dreadful massacre of Christians in old days in Japan, the most terrible chapter perhaps in the whole history of Christianity, do not serve to deter converts, but rather to ennoble the profession of a faith dignified by so many martyrs. But here, as in all Christian missions, Churchmen must be content to see the work advance slowly, though none the less surely—as the gradually developed growth of a mighty tree, or the slow but irresistible progress of a vast ice-stream.

¹ The Right Rev. A. W. Poole, the first Anglican bishop in Japan, died in England July 14, 1885. His successor, Dr. Bickersteth, was consecrated on the Feast of the Purification, 1886.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT OF THE
IRISH CHURCH

1869-1872

1. Mr. Gladstone's attack on the Irish Church. 2. Passing of the Bill for Disestablishment and Disendowment. 3. The provisions for transfer of property. 4. The Convocations vote a scheme for a representative clerical body. 5. Lay representative body—The scheme to be submitted to a general convention. 6. Limitation of the powers of episcopal veto. 7. The general constitution of the Church. 8. Patronage and election of bishops. 9. The Primacy. 10. Finance. 11. The question of revision. 12. Anti-ritualistic canons. 13. Moderate character of the changes made. 14. Defence of the course adopted.

1. THE Irish Church had long been a mark for the attacks of politicians and aspiring statesmen. It had suffered the loss of ten bishoprics, and the power of levying Church rates from the whole population.¹ Benefices had been amalgamated, and violent attempts had been made to apply its revenues to the purposes of secular education. Among the most vigorous opponents of the Irish Church Temporalities Act of 1833 was Mr. Gladstone. It was therefore quite in keeping with this attitude of his early political career that we find the same statesman opposing Mr. Dillwyn's resolution of 1865, "That the position of the Irish Church was unsatisfactory, and called for the early attention of her Majesty's Government," and writing to Dr. Hannah that the question was remote, and out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day. "I think," writes Mr. Gladstone, "it would be worse than superfluous to determine on any scheme, or basis of a scheme, with

¹ Church Temporalities Acts (Ireland), 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 37 (A.D. 1833), and 4 and 5 Will. IV., c. 90 (A.D. 1834).

respect to it. . . . I have stated strongly my sense of the responsibility attaching to the opening of such a question, except in a state of things which gave promise of closing it." This was in 1865. In that same year, at the general election, Mr. Gladstone lost his seat for Oxford, being then a member of a Liberal administration, which was shortly afterwards driven from power by the defeat of Earl Russell's Reform Bill. Mr. Gladstone's views with respect to the position of the Irish Church now underwent a change. A royal commission had been appointed to consider the state of that Church, but had not yet made their report,¹ when Mr. Gladstone stepped in, and proposed and carried in the House of Commons certain resolutions, which in fact pledged the House of Commons to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church. Having carried these he brought in a Bill to suspend all action as regards the Church in the way of preferment, until a settlement had been made. This was passed in the House of Commons, but thrown out by a great majority in the House of Lords. The ministry having been defeated in the Commons, Parliament was then dissolved in order to test the opinion of the country on the question of the Irish Church. The maintenance of that Church was not a subject likely to commend itself favourably to the popular mind, nor were a large body of uneducated electors altogether competent judges in such a question. Bishop Wilberforce, writing dispassionately before he was mixed up in the fray, could say: "I am very sorry Gladstone has moved the attack on the Irish Church. It seems so utterly unfit a subject for this Parliament. . . . It is altogether a bad business, and I am afraid Gladstone has been drawn into it from the unconscious influence of his restlessness at being out of office. I have no doubt that his hatred to the *low* tone of the Irish branch has had a great deal to do with it."²

¹ When the report was made it recommended the reduction of the Sees to one archbishop and seven bishops, and the abolition of all the chapters except where the bishop resided.

² *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 241. Compare this with what the same bishop wrote a few months later to Archbishop Trench: "You have in Gladstone a man of the highest and noblest principle, who has

2. The elections everywhere went strongly in favour of Mr. Gladstone and his Irish Church policy. The No-popery cry vigorously used by its opponents seemed to have lost its power, and the best that could be hoped for by the friends of the Irish Church was to obtain equitable terms under the new condition of things. Mr. Gladstone, on his acceptance of the premiership in December 1868, announced in the Queen's speech (February 10, 1869) that "the ecclesiastical arrangements of Ireland will be brought under your consideration at a very early date, and the legislation which will be necessary in order to their final adjustment will make the largest demands on the wisdom of Parliament. I am persuaded that in the prosecution of the work you will bear a careful regard to every legitimate interest which it may involve, and that you will be governed by the constant aim to promote the welfare of religion through the principles of equal justice; to secure the action of the undivided feeling and opinion of Ireland on the side of loyalty and law; to efface the memory of former contentions, and to cherish the sympathies of an affectionate people." The Bill that was brought in to carry out these pleasing anticipations was introduced by Mr. Gladstone (March 1) in a speech of three hours' duration. It excited immediately the keenest and most violent opposition. The maintenance of the Church of Ireland had been guaranteed by the Act of Union. It had a legal status and position, and a long prescription as the representative of the ancient Church of the land. Upon what plea of justice or necessity could the position and endowments which it had so long enjoyed be attacked? How could it be defensible or safe thus to tamper with the rights of property, and to ignore the most solemn pledges? In addition to the plain justice of the case, which could appeal alike to all, the sympathies of most English Churchmen were keenly enlisted on behalf of a sister church violently attacked, and, as it seemed, in actual peril of its life. It was a bitter thought that the system, which had always been the foe of pure religion and of national pro-

shown unmistakably that he is ready to sacrifice every personal aim for what he has set before himself as a high object."—*Life*, iii. 278.

gress, should thus gain an easy victory over its chief opponent, and that the cause of superstition and disorder should triumph. Yet in spite of all the arguments urged by the defenders of the Church, with consummate power and eloquence, political considerations prevailed. Men appeared to have persuaded themselves that in this case justice and right were on the side of the spoilers. That the paucity of the numbers of Church members in some districts furnished an overwhelming argument for the abandonment of an institution which had failed to win the population. The Bill passed the Commons by a majority of 114, and was brought into the House of Lords, where the opposition to it might be expected to be more pronounced, and founded more upon principle. It was to be anticipated that the English bishops, who form a not inconsiderable portion of that House, would at any rate meet it with a steadfast opposition. Unfortunately, however, the most eloquent and influential of them, Bishop Wilberforce, was led by his devotion to Mr. Gladstone to give it only a qualified opposition. He even drew up a pamphlet, in which he so far acquiesced in what he called the "answer of the constituencies" that Dr. Trench, the Archbishop of Dublin, almost sternly required him not to publish it. To do so, he said, would be "an act of the most injurious hostility, which would stir up widespread wrath," and even Mr. Gladstone thought the pamphlet too strong for one in the bishop's position.¹ Hence the voice of the Bishop of Oxford was not heard in opposition to the Bill.² But there was another prelate lately come from Ireland to an English See, who, with a complete knowledge of the subject, and a marvellous power of oratory, denounced the measure with such vigour and withering force that there could be no longer any doubt even in the minds of those who supported it of its real character.³ Notwithstanding all, however, the Bill

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 283.

² Bishop of Oxford to Rev. H. Majendie: "I did not vote against the second reading, and if I had not missed an opportunity of expressing my views I should have supported it."—*Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii. 291.

³ The Act could not be defended on principle. Lord Selborne in his excellent work, *A Defence of the Church of England*, after examin-

passed the House of Lords, and was ratified by the Crown.

3. The "Irish Church Act" of 1869 (32 and 33 Vict. c. 42) first enacts that on and after January 1, 1871, the union between the Churches of England and Ireland shall be dissolved, and the Irish Church shall cease to be established by law. Three commissioners are then appointed, who are to have full power to decide all questions either of law or fact for the purposes of the Act, and to have vested in them all property belonging to the ecclesiastical commissioners of Ireland, and all other Church property of every description, subject only to the payment of the life interests of the present holders. The Church was to appoint a representative church body, with which the commissioners might deal in their property transactions; to which body the life interests, commuted for a capital sum, might be paid over, with the obligation on the representative body to pay the stipend to the holders for life. Provisions were made by which the fabrics of the churches, including adjoining schoolhouses and burial grounds, might become vested in the representative body, and this body might acquire glebe houses and residences for the use of the clergy, but only by a payment "of a sum equal to ten times the amount of the annual value of the site of such ecclesiastical residence estimated as land, and of the said garden and cartilage."¹ As an equivalent for private endowments £500,000 was to be paid to the Representative Body. These were the main provisions of the Act as regards the transfer of property. Numerous other provisions touching the disestablishment or disentangling of the Church from its civil relations were specified in the Act.

ing (somewhat unfavourably) the manner in which the Irish Church acquired its property, comes to the conclusion, "The general mass of the Irish Church property, of which possession was taken by the State in 1869, was a result and monument of the civil wars and confiscations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *I did not in 1869, and I do not now, think this a good reason for taking it all away.*"—*A Defence of the Church of England*, p. 240.

¹ Irish Church Act, section 27.

4. The members of the Irish Church were at once involved in considerable perplexity. How were they to proceed, and what measures were they to take for the election of the representative body and the general re-organisation of the Church? How was the authority and will of the Church to be ascertained, and to find utterance? Some were of opinion that the historical continuity of the Church's system would be best preserved by reassembling the Convocations, or the ancient provincial synods; and that these bodies when assembled should vote for the introduction of the laity to joint deliberations with them, reforming at the same time the mode of representation of the clergy. Many of the laity, on the other hand, strongly objected that their right to take part in the reconstitution of the Church ought not to depend on a vote of the clergy. Ultimately a compromise between opposite views was made. The provincial synods were called together, but only to determine the mode of representation of the clergy. It was arranged that the laity should assemble independently, and that arrangements should afterwards be made that clergy and laity should coalesce into a single body. The provincial synods of Armagh and Dublin were summoned separately. Their first act was to join themselves into one body. Their next was to bring forward a scheme of a reformed clerical body. It was held that the Convocations themselves could not be regarded as representing the clergy, both on account of the predominance of official members, and also on account of the restriction to the beneficed clergy, of the right of voting for elected members. It was voted by the Convocation that all the members were to be *elected* members, and all beneficed or *licensed* clergymen were to have votes in the election. A resolution was also carried affirming the desirability of lay co-operation.

5. After a little time an assembly of laymen met to settle the details of lay representation.¹ It was agreed that the number of laymen to sit in a general representative body of the Church should be double the number of the clergy. It was also agreed that a committee should be appointed, consisting of two clergymen and two laymen from each diocese,

¹ See Dr. Ball's *Reformed Church of Ireland*, p. 280.

who, in conjunction with the bishop, should make arrangements for the meeting of a general convention. This committee, consisting of about sixty persons, called the committee of organisation, after four weeks of hard labour, completed a draft constitution for the Church of Ireland to be offered for the acceptance and ratification of a general Convention. By the proposed scheme the bishops were to be recognised as a distinct order, having equal privileges with the other two, but they were to sit and deliberate in company with the lower clergy. The number of the members of future synods was to be 250—less than half of the numbers of which the Convention would consist.

6. The proposed scheme, when brought before the general Convention of the clerical and lay representatives, was not altogether favourably received. The point on which there was most difference of opinion was the regulation of the power of the bishops. Little difficulty was made as to recognising the right of the bishops to vote as a distinct order, but it was argued that, if the consent of that order was made in every case essential to the passing of a measure, it would be in the power of a very small number of persons to defeat the wishes of the entire Church. For example, since five had been named as the quorum necessary to constitute a House of Bishops, it might be, it was said, in the power of three bishops to negative a measure unanimously passed by clergy and laity. It was proposed, therefore, that if a measure should pass at two succeeding synods by majorities in each session of two-thirds of the clergy and two-thirds of the laity, it should not be in the power of the bishops to negative it on the second occasion. Some of the bishops were opposed to this limitation, but they declared themselves ready to accept a compromise proposed by the Duke of Abercorn that the negative on the second occasion should not be valid unless two-thirds of the entire number of bishops were present and joined in it.¹ This

¹ The following is the text of the arrangement: "The bishops shall vote separately from the representatives, and no question shall be deemed to have been carried unless there be in its favour a majority of the bishops present if they desire to vote, and a majority of the clerical and lay representatives present, voting conjointly or by orders.

was recognised as a satisfactory solution of the problem, and carried by a large majority of both orders. This burning question having been disposed of, the Convention proceeded with its important duties, its labours continuing for about seven weeks, six hours a day being given to the work.

7. The scheme for the government of the Irish Church, elaborated by the convention, commenced with a declaration of fundamental doctrines. This may be briefly summed up as a profession of faith in the Holy Scriptures, a resolution to maintain inviolate the three orders of the ministry, and an acceptance of the faith professed by the Primitive Church, rejecting those innovations in doctrine and worship which were laid aside at the Reformation. It was declared that the Church received and approved the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer of the English Church; and that it would continue to use the same, subject only to such alterations as might hereafter be made by the lawful authority of the Church. It was decided not to make it a necessary condition for such alterations that they should be previously accepted in England. But with a view to securing stability of doctrine it was determined to throw special difficulties in the way of any change in the formularies of the Church. In order to make such changes resolutions must be passed at one synod of the whole Church, then communicated to the diocesan synods, and afterwards a Bill founded on them must be brought in at another general synod;¹ and in

Provided always that if a question affirmed by a majority of clerical and lay representatives voting conjointly or by orders, but rejected by a majority of the bishops, shall be reaffirmed at the next ordinary session of the general synod by not less than two-thirds of the clerical and lay representatives, voting conjointly or by orders, it shall be deemed to be carried unless it shall be negatived by not less than two-thirds of the then entire existing order of bishops, the said two-thirds being present and voting, and giving their reasons in writing.”—*Statutes of the Church of Ireland*, p. 5.

¹ “The Bill shall be read a first time without debate and printed. It shall then be set down for debate upon its principles, and a vote shall be taken upon the question whether it shall be read a second time. If the Bill be read a second time, a day shall be fixed for the

order to carry either Bill or resolutions there must be on every occasion a majority of two-thirds of each order. The basis of Church organisation was to be a registration of vestrymen in each parish; no test was to be required beyond a declaration by the vestryman that he is a member of the Church, and provision was made for allowing habitual attendants at a church to register, even though not resident or holders of property in the parish. The vestrymen were annually to elect a churchwarden, besides one, as usual, nominated by the clergyman, and also a select vestry for the management of parochial affairs; and in addition they were to elect representatives to the diocesan synod, who must be communicants, their own declaration being taken as evidence of this. The diocesan synod was to consist of these lay representatives, together with the bishop and the beneficed and licensed clergy of the diocese, and was to arrange the affairs of the diocese; to elect an executive council of clergy and laity; and to elect clerical and lay representatives to the General Synod. This was to be the Parliament of the Church, and to have chief legislative power, and such administrative power as might be necessary for the Church and consistent with its episcopal constitution. The Synod was to consist of a little more than two hundred clergy and twice as many laymen. It was at first to meet every year. A proposal to confine to the clergy the decision of questions concerning doctrine and discipline met with but little favour. The clergy were satisfied that they had security enough in the rule which made the consent of the bishops and clergy necessary to any Act of the synod. Questions of doctrine were excluded from the province of diocesan synods. The "Representative Body," which was required by the Act to be the trustee of property and the official representative of the Church, was

consideration thereof in committee of the full synod. The Bill being reported, a day shall be fixed for the third reading, one clear day at least being interposed. When the Bill shall have been read a third time and passed, it shall become a statute or canon of the general synod, and shall thenceforth be a law of the Church of Ireland and binding on all members thereof."—*Statutes of the Church of Ireland*, p. 5.

decided by the convention to consist of the bishops, one clergyman and two laymen from each diocese, and twelve other clergymen and laymen to be co-opted by the members. This body was charged with the allocation of funds between different dioceses, and also with the determining whether in any case a release of clergymen from duty and an amalgamation of parishes might fittingly be allowed. It was also entrusted with divers other important functions.

8. The question of patronage was one which excited lively interest. The mode of parochial patronage adopted was founded on the New Zealand plan—the right of presentation to an incumbency being vested in a board consisting of the bishop, three diocesan and three parochial nominators. It was resolved that it should be possible for private endowers to acquire certain limited rights of patronage, care being taken to guard against the abuses to which private patronage has been liable. Attempts to draw up a schedule of conditions failed, and the terms of agreement were left to be settled in each case. Bishops were to be chosen by the clergy of the diocese and the lay representatives in the diocesan synod—the agreement of a majority of both orders being necessary to a valid election. If the person chosen had a majority of two-thirds of each order the election was complete; if not, at least one other person must be chosen, also by a majority of both orders, and the choice between the persons so elected was to be left to the bench of bishops, to whom also the election was to lapse in case the diocese was unable to make a valid election within three months.

9. The difficult question as to the Primacy was, after much deliberation, settled as follows: The diocese of Armagh, the ancient Primatial See, was to name four bishops, from whom the bench of bishops was to select the Primate. In filling the See thus vacated the bishops were to choose between two presbyters, elected, one by the diocese of Armagh, the other by the vacant diocese.¹

¹ This was afterwards modified as follows: "On the occurrence of a vacancy in the See of Armagh, the diocesan synod of Armagh and Clogher, if the said dioceses shall remain united, or if not united, then

The question of ecclesiastical tribunals and law was postponed.¹

10. Another most important question was that of finance. As the clergy were left in possession of their life interests, a large sum was not immediately required, but prudence suggested the commencement without delay of a sustentation fund. What was aimed at was to raise a permanent fund, the interest of which would pay about half the salaries of the clergy, so as to divide the burden fairly between the present generation and posterity. It was hoped that some of the advantages of a system of endowments and of the voluntary system would be combined—the people not being altogether released from the necessity of making exertions for the support of their Church, and the clergy not being left altogether dependent on their congregations. A great assistance for the raising of the central fund was given by the provision of the Act, which allowed clergy to commute their life interest for a lump sum to be paid to the Church body, which should thenceforth be chargeable with the payment of their annuities. It was also provided that when three-fourths of a diocese should agree to commutation, an addition of twelve pounds in the hundred should be made to the commutation money. The terms of commutation were not liberal enough to allow of any substantial direct gain being made by the transaction, but it was thought that, if the present clergy should receive their incomes from a central Church fund, a system would be inaugurated which would be likely to continue for the future. It was seen that this plan would be perfectly safe for the clergy,

the diocesan synod of Armagh only, shall thereupon meet and shall elect a bishop in the mode hereinbefore provided. The bishop so elected shall bear *ad interim* the title of Bishop of Armagh and Clogher if the dioceses remain united, or of Armagh only if disunited. As soon as convenient after the consecration of the bishop so elected, the House of Bishops shall meet and elect one of their number to the Archbishopric of Armagh and Primacy of all Ireland, the *ad interim* Bishop of Armagh and Clogher being present and entitled to vote. If this bishop be not himself elected to the Archbishopric of Armagh and Primacy of all Ireland, he shall occupy the See vacated by the prelate elected thereto.”—*Statutes of the Church of Ireland*, p. 19.

¹ See Dr. Ball, *Reformed Church of Ireland* p. 287.

as the Representative Body would be pledged to draw on the sustentation fund if necessary ; but the question arose whether it would be profitable for the sustentation fund to undertake these responsibilities. After careful consideration it appeared that the fund might be protected in various ways—(1.) Government annuities might be purchased for the lives of those who had commuted. (2.) A system of insurance might be adopted. (3.) Clergymen might *compound*, receiving from one-third to two-thirds of their commutation money, and either abandoning their duties altogether, or else continuing to discharge them, receiving the interest on the balance of the commutation money left in the hands of the Church body, and having the income made up by local subscriptions. (4.) By advances made to pay off encumbrances on benefices. Commutation might thus be made both safe for the commuters and also highly advantageous to the Church.¹

11. But a greater danger threatened the disestablished Church of Ireland than any arising from lack of funds. What if this opportunity of liberty should be taken for a violent onslaught on the ancient formularies and dogmatic teaching of the Church? What if the ardent Protestantism, which had been strongly developed in the Irish Church by its having to live face to face with Romanism in some of its worst aspects, should now be allowed to have full force, and everything which could be asserted to “savour of Popery” be done away with? There was no slight danger lest this might be the case. Had it been done to the full extent which some desired, the Irish Church would probably have lost communion with the Church of England, and might have dwindled into an insignificant sect, of less account or power than the Presbyterians or Wesleyans by its side. An attempt was in fact made in the first synod (1871) by a lay member (Master Brooke) to carry changes in the formularies by a vote of the synod. In the state of liberty in which the Church now was there was no doctrine so sacred that one of the members of the synod might not

¹ The commissioners have paid over to the Representative Body the capital sum of £7,581,470, charged with annuities to the amount of £596,751.

ask them to alter, and have his proposal discussed in an assembly of over six hundred persons. That some revision of the Prayer Book must be made was evident, changes in the wording of some of the prayers being required; but that, under the shelter of this, isolated and oft-repeated attacks should be made upon the Prayer Book was intolerable. A panic had got abroad, and a confused notion had taken possession of many minds that something must be done to the Prayer Book to prevent it from favouring Ritualism. There were not wanting persons, with a most superficial knowledge of the subject, to bring forward abundance of quack remedies. To legislate on such subjects in a panic, and in an assembly, the majority of which were entirely unqualified to give a sound opinion, would be absolutely destructive. It was, therefore, proposed, prudently as it seemed, that the whole question should be gone into by a competent body. "That the bishops be requested, in conjunction with a committee to be named from among the representative members of the synod, to consider the whole subject of revision, and report on it to the synod of 1872."¹ The result has been the introduction of some changes into the Prayer Book which are distasteful to English Churchmen, but the avoidance of any great and revolutionary change which might have impaired the friendly union between the Churches.

12. The dread of Ritualism, which prompted the attacks on the Prayer Book, has found a very decided expression in some of the canons enacted by the synods of the Church of Ireland. An attempt is made in these to bind the Church of the future, which may possibly be of somewhat calmer temperament than that which had the first experience of disestablishment, to a bald and inornate service, with as few external attractions as possible. Thus Canon 5 forbids the minister "in any case" to turn his back to the people. He must always consecrate at the north side. He must not make the sign of the cross nor bow, nor do any other act of obeisance to the Lord's Table. He must always wear a surplice with "the customary scarf of black

¹ See *The Danger of Putting off the Question of Revision*, by Professor Salmon, Dublin, 1871.

silk," and his hood, and no other ecclesiastical vestment or ornament save a black gown in preaching (Canon 4). The communion table is to be of wood, and not to be allowed a covering except "such as the ordinary shall approve of" (Canon 34). No candles or lights are to be allowed upon it, nor in any part of the Church, save for the purpose of giving light (Canon 35). No cross, ornamental or otherwise, is to be tolerated upon the table or on the covering thereof, "nor shall a cross be erected or depicted on the wall or other structure behind the communion table" (Canon 36). The elevation of the paten or cup, the use of wine mixed with water, of wafer bread, and of any and every thing not prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, is forbidden, but a minister is allowed to bow at the name of Jesus in the Nicene Creed (Canon 37). The use of incense is forbidden (Canon 38). Processions in which any cross or banner is carried, "in any religious service or ceremonial," are declared illegal (Canon 39).

13. These canons sufficiently indicate the temper as regards matters of ritual in which the Church of Ireland began its work. But time modifies all things; and there are not wanting indications that this puritanical temper is passing away in Ireland, as it has well-nigh passed away in England; and that more attractive services may soon be recognised as a valuable subsidiary power in the great work which the Church has to do with its crippled means and resources. That so little revolutionary change was made in the services and status of the Church when, during a crisis of great excitement, the whole was, as it were, cast into the crucible, and became liable to be refashioned, was due to the tact, wisdom, and prudence of those who took the leading part in Church affairs. Some concessions would of necessity have to be made to the ultra-Protestant section, to be found chiefly among the laity. The great object was to keep these concessions clear of touching any vital point. Thus the practical bearing of all the demands for change came to be considered, and matters were calculated not simply on grounds of principle, but also on grounds of policy—a treatment which to some, no doubt, is repulsive on such subjects, but which nevertheless is sus-

ceptible of a good defence, on account of the manifest and even vital importance of preserving union.

14. An able apologist for the work done by the reviewers of the formularies of the Irish Church writes: "Some English censors, exhibiting amusing ignorance of the problem with which we had to deal, have criticised the acts of our Synod as they might an exercise performed for the schools, and have asked on what conceivable principles we proceeded. When we went so far, why did we not go further? When, for example, we discontinued the compulsory recitation of the Athanasian Creed in our service, why did we not cancel the approbation of the creed expressed in the eighth article? and so forth. The simple answer is that we were not closet theologians, but men dealing with an extremely difficult problem of practical statesmanship; namely, to make such a settlement of disputed questions as should give no pretext for schism on the one side or the other. The account of the principle on which we proceeded is, that we made certain changes, because, having a knowledge of the state of feeling at the time, such as strangers cannot have, we judged the making of them to be necessary to union; and we did not make changes which we did not judge to be so necessary, much less changes which no one demanded. We were willing ourselves to submit for the sake of concord to things we did not like. But we were resolved to resist not only any change which would offend our own conscience, but any which would offend the conscience of others so as to oblige them to leave us. And the result was that we solved our problem. There was no schism. With no exception worth speaking of, clergy and laity accepted the arrangement we came to, and the excitements and jealousies of the years that followed disestablishment have completely died away."¹

¹ "Experiences of a Disestablished Church," Professor Salmon, *Contemporary Review*, March 1886, p. 319.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE RUBRICS IN CONVOCATION

1870-1879

1. Letters of business sent to Convocation to consider the rubrics. 2. Agreement as to a shortened service and Lectionary. 3. The recommendation of the Convocation of Canterbury as to ornaments rubric. 4. Vote for the retention and continued use of the Athanasian Creed. 5. The synodical declaration as to the meaning of the Creed. 6. Collision between Upper and Lower Houses of Canterbury on Burial Service. 7. Ultimate resolutions of the two Convocations as to Burial Service. 8. The Burial Laws Amendment Act. 9. Fear in the Convocations as to legislating. 10. Proposed method for legislating for the Church with safety. 11. The revision of the authorised version of the Scriptures. 12. The Public Worship Regulation Act not approved by the Convocation of Canterbury. 13. Ill effects of this measure. 14. Indignation excited by the advance of Ritualism.

1. THE final report of the ritual commissioners giving the suggestions for the alterations of the rubrics which had been approved by them was dated August 31, 1870. The Convocations, to which this subject specially belonged, at once gave their attention to the recommendations. In February 1871, by direction of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, a committee of the Lower House was appointed, with a direction to inquire whether any changes in the rubrics were desirable, with special reference to those proposed by the ritual commissioners. This committee, under the able presidency of Archdeacon Freeman, at once proceeded to its work, and drew up a very valuable report. Before this had been considered by the House, the Crown, in fulfilment of a promise made when the ritual commission was appointed, issued what are

technically known as "Letters of Business" to the two Convocations of Canterbury and York, authorising and requiring those bodies to consider the recommendations of the ritual commissioners, and to report to the Crown thereon.¹ The issuing of these letters of business being another formal recognition by the Crown of the revived Convocations is a matter of considerable importance. The letters ran as follows :—

"Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith—To the most Reverend Father in God, our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor, Archibald Campbell, by the grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, greeting—Whereas by our Royal License to the present Convocation of the province of Canterbury, we have, amongst other things, empowered and authorised them to consider, consult, and agree of and upon such matters as we from time to time should deliver unto you in writing under our sign-manual or privy signet, to be debated, considered, consulted, and agreed upon—and whereas our commissioners for inquiring into the differences of practice which have arisen from varying interpretations put upon the rubrics, orders and directions for regulating the course and conduct of public worship, the administration of the sacraments, and the other services contained in the Book of Common Prayer, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland,² and more especially with regard to the ornaments used in the churches and chapels of the said United Church, and the vestments worn by the ministers thereof at the time of their ministration; with a view of explaining or amending the said rubrics, orders and directions, so as to secure general uniformity of practice in such matters as may be deemed essential, have submitted to us their fourth and final report.

¹ A royal license was also sent, but this appears to have been due to some misconception, such license being only required for the legalisation of a canon.

² There was no longer a "United Church of England and Ireland," when these letters were drawn up.

“Our pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby authorise you, the said most Reverend Father in God, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, President of the said Convocation, and the bishops of your said province, and the deans of the Cathedral Churches, and also the archdeacons, chapters and colleges, and the whole clergy of every diocese of your said province, to debate, consider, consult, and agree upon the points, matters, and things contained in the said fourth and final report of our said commissioners, and after mature debate, consideration, consultation, and agreement, to present to us a report or reports thereon in writing.

“Given at our Court of St. James the Seventh day of February 1872, in the Thirty-fifth year of our Reign.”

2. In obedience to this command, both Convocations proceeded to take into consideration the recommendations of the ritual commissioners. Some of them were readily adopted. The recommendation to allow a shortened service in parish churches on week-days, and to allow a third service to be constructed from the Book of Common Prayer and the Scriptures; also to allow special forms of service to be approved by the Ordinary, was accepted, and being thrown into a Bill for Parliament was carried and became law (Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, 1872). In the same way the new Lectionary constructed by the commissioners, being approved by the Convocations, was authorised by Act of Parliament (Prayer Book (Table of Lessons) Act, 1872). But about other matters there was less unanimity, and no conclusion was arrived at during the continuance of this Convocation.

3. The Convocations having come to an end by the dissolution of Parliament in 1873, before they had finished the work on the rubrics entrusted to them, the letters of business were renewed in 1874, and both Convocations applied themselves again to the task, committees being appointed to prepare the way.¹ The ritual commission

¹ The following summary represents pretty accurately the amount of labour bestowed by the Convocation of Canterbury on the rubrics. There was first the committee appointed in 1871, and its long and

had been specially appointed to consider the "ornaments rubric," which regulated the dress of the minister and the things to be used in churches, but after a vast number of sittings, and great and prolonged discussions, the commissioners had been unable to arrive at any decision on this matter, and had agreed to leave the rubric untouched. It seemed impossible for the Convocations to follow them in this strange course, and it was moved as an instruction to the committee of the Lower House of Canterbury "to report, as early as may be, to the Lower House, on the ornaments rubric, and the rubrics respecting the position of the minister at the celebration of the Holy Communion." With regard to the latter point the committee decided to recommend that both the north side and the eastward position should be legalised,¹ and with regard to the ornaments rubric, to leave it untouched, but to add to it a note, stating that the surplice, stole, and hood "shall suffice," and that the other vestures were not to be introduced into any church other than a cathedral or collegiate church, without the consent of the bishop.² This, in the schedule finally agreed upon by the Convocation of Canterbury, took the following amended shape: "In saying public

laborious report; then the Convocation dealt with the report point by point; then a new Convocation was elected, and a new committee had to report upon what was done in the previous Convocation, and their report had to be considered point by point by the House; then the bishops issued their first report upon the amendments agreed upon by the Lower House, and this had to be considered; and then, finally, there was the joint report of the committees of the Lower Houses of the two provinces sitting together, and this had to be dealt with in the same way. In fact, this wide subject occupied a very large proportion of the time allowed for the sessions of the Lower House for six years, the rubrics having been carefully gone through four times by the House, besides the same number of times in committee.—Rev. Walsham How, *Revision of Rubrics*, p. 4.

¹ This principle was accepted by an unanimous vote of the Lower House of Canterbury (April 1875). It was also affirmed substantially by the Lower House of York, but rejected by the Upper. The Upper House of Canterbury did not take it into consideration.

² The committee of 1871 had ordered the use of the vestments for cathedrals and forbidden them for parish churches.

prayers and ministering the sacraments and other rites of the Church, every priest or deacon shall wear a stole or scarf and the hood of his degree, and in preaching he shall wear a stole or scarf with the hood of his degree, or if he think fit, a gown with hood and scarf; and no other ornament shall at any time of his ministrations be used by him *contrary to the monition* of the bishop of the diocese, provided always that this rubric shall not be understood to repeal the 24th, 25th, and 28th Canons of 1604." This attempt to deal with a most difficult question at any rate deserves consideration, as being in fact the only attempt that was made. The ritual commissioners could suggest nothing; the Convocation of York in their schedule suggest nothing; Canterbury attempts to deal with it, not by repealing or altering the rubric (against which there was the strongest possible feeling in the Church),¹ but by prescribing an allowable minimum in accordance with common practice, and leaving the door open for the introduction of more ornate vesture, wherever the bishop does not interpose with a "monition"—a thing not likely often to occur.

4. A far more important question than any which merely concerned ceremonial was raised upon the consideration of the rubric which prescribed the use of the Athanasian Creed. This elaborate and skilful exposition of dogma had always been the special mark for the attacks of the Latitudinarians, and the opportunity now afforded for assailing it was not likely to be lost. In the ritual commission it had been vigorously attacked, but the final result of the discussions upon it was to leave the rubric untouched, but to insert after the creed a note—"Note, that the condemnations in this Confession of Faith are to be no otherwise understood than as a solemn warning of the peril of those who wilfully reject the Catholic faith." When the rubrics came on for discussion in the Convoca-

¹ A petition signed by 3800 clergy and 71,250 lay communicants was presented to the Convocation of Canterbury, praying it to maintain the integrity of the Book of Common Prayer, and to make provision for the retention of such ornaments of the Church and the ministers thereof as were prescribed by and used under the Prayer Book of 1549.

tions, some of the most influential members were much opposed to an absolute order for the use of the Creed, and desired to substitute "may" for "shall." Others advocated the mutilation of the creed by the excision of the "damnatory" clauses. Others would make its use much less frequent; while some were in favour of expunging it from the Prayer Book altogether. In the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation the subject was debated for six days,¹ when there appeared an overwhelming majority in favour of the retention of the rubric unaltered, and against all tampering with the Creed. In York, all the eloquence and learning of the Bishop of Durham could not persuade the Lower House to sanction an optional rubric. Outside the Convocations the greatest excitement prevailed amongst Churchmen.² At large and enthusiastic meetings all tampering with the Creed was violently denounced. It was felt that the whole character and position of the Church of England were at stake, and the greatest relief was experienced when the Convocations refused to vote the alteration of the rubric.

5. The retention of the Creed and its continued use being thus secured, it became a question whether anything might or could be done to remove some of the difficulties felt by many as to this formula. It was first proposed to construct an explanatory note to be inserted in the Prayer Book, as had been recommended by the ritual commissioners. This proposal was defeated in the Lower House of the Canterbury Convocation by 23 to 18. But the principle of a *synodical declaration*, differing from an explanatory note in not being meant for insertion in the Prayer Book, was carried by 25 to 6. The Upper House having assented to the formation of such a declaration, it was drafted by the committee on rubrics, and received,

¹ It began on April 23 (1872), was continued for the four days, April 23-26, and resumed the following week, April 30, being concluded May 1. The retention of the *status quo* was carried by 42 to 12.

² As many as 766 petitions, containing 38 to 460 names, were received by the Convocation of Canterbury, praying for the maintenance of the Athanasian Creed in its entirety.

with considerable modifications, the assent of the Lower House (February 1873). It was again modified by the Upper House, and, after much discussion, finally accepted by both Houses of Canterbury (May 1873). It ran as follows :—

“For the removal of doubts, and to prevent disquietude in the use of the Creed, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, this synod doth solemnly declare—

“(1.) That the Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius, doth not make any addition to the faith as contained in Holy Scripture, but warneth against errors which have from time to time arisen in the Church of Christ.

“(2.) That as Holy Scripture in divers places doth promise life to them that believe, and declares the condemnation of them that believe not, so doth the Church in this Confession declare the necessity for all who would be in a state of salvation, of holding fast the Catholic faith, and the great peril of rejecting the same. Wherefore the warnings in this Confession of Faith are to be understood no otherwise than the like warnings in Holy Scripture ; for we must receive God’s threatenings even as His promises, in such wise as they are generally set forth in Holy Writ. Moreover, the Church doth not here pronounce judgment on any particular person or persons, God alone being the Judge of all.”

This declaration was accepted by the committee of the York Convocation, and the joint committee of the two provinces recommended that it should be added to the Creed in the Prayer Book as an explanatory note. This recommendation was carried in the Lower House of Canterbury (July 1876). It had been previously carried in the Lower House of York (February 1876), but it was rejected by the three bishops who formed the Upper House of that province. The Upper House of Canterbury eventually accepted it, and thus it appears on the schedule of the rubrical alterations proposed by Canterbury, but not on the schedule of York.

6. Upon no subject were the minds of Churchmen more exercised, and in none did greater diversity of opinion

prevail, than on that of the Burial Service. The attempts repeatedly made to take the exclusive right of performing burials in consecrated ground out of the hands of the Church, naturally inclined many to search about for some method for disarming the opposition to this ancient duty ; and the ritual commissioners had recommended the modifying the rubric before the burial office by an addition which allowed a short service in the cases where the full service is prohibited. This was rejected by the Lower House of Canterbury (July 1872). In February 1873 that House agreed to a short alternative service to be used by the minister when the person to be buried has died in open and notorious sin, thus throwing an undue responsibility on the officiating clergyman. The subject was not taken up again till 1876, when, after much discussion, the following new rubrics were agreed upon by the Lower House of Canterbury : "On the request, or with the consent of the kindred or friends, it shall be lawful for the minister to use only the following service at the burial— The three sentences of the Scriptures to be said or sung on meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard ; and after they come into church one or both of these psalms following, Psalm xxxix. and Psalm xc. ; next the lesson, 1 Cor. xv. 20. When they come to the grave, while the corpse is being made ready to be laid into the earth, the priest shall say, 'Man that is born of,' etc. Then shall follow the words, 'Lord have mercy,' etc., the Lord's Prayer, and 'The grace of our Lord,' etc. Further, it shall be lawful for the minister, at the request or with the consent of the kindred and friends of the deceased, to omit this service, and to permit the corpse to be silently committed to the grave in the church or chapel yard of the parish ; and in registering such burials the minister shall enter the words, 'No ceremony' before his signature." This rubric was not intended by the Lower House of the Convocation to apply to any cases which were excluded by the initial rubric of the burial office. On being informed of this the Upper House showed itself by no means satisfied with it. It appeared to be the set determination of the bishops to provide some service which might be used in

the case of the interment of unbaptized persons, excommunicate persons, and suicides. Disregarding what seemed to be an obvious danger, that any service whatever used at the time of the funeral in such cases would be interpreted to be a service of Christian burial, their lordships sent down to the Lower House the rubric following: "Nevertheless, it shall not be unlawful in the case of any that die unbaptized, or whensoever the kindred or friends of the deceased desire it, for the minister to read a service to be approved by the Ordinary, taken from the Holy Scriptures and Book of Common Prayer." This startling proposal was discussed by the Lower House in February and May (1876). On May 9 it voted by a large majority "That in the judgment of this House it is not advisable to provide for the burial of unbaptized persons by any rubric in the Book of Common Prayer." Nor was this the only point on which the two Houses were at issue. The Upper House amended the rubric which had been sent up to them, allowing silent interment, by a clause which authorised burial without "*either of these services.*" This clearly left the door open for the use of some other service not specified, and the Lower House substituted for these words, "without any service, hymns, or anthems." But the bishops would not accept this amendment. They adhered to their former wording, and added to it the following: "In such cases the incumbent may permit the use at the grave of such hymns as may be approved by him." They also resolved "That the House does not accept the amendment to the rubric made by the Lower House, that the abbreviated service is not to be used over any that are unbaptized."

7. The serious divergence of opinion, which had thus arisen between the two Houses of the Canterbury Convocation, was sufficiently remarkable. It seemed hard to understand how the bishops could authorise a Christian service over unbaptized persons, or allow the singing of hymns, which might be of a jubilant and triumphant character, in the case of those over whom it was not considered fitting to use any service. A conference between the two Houses was therefore asked for, and conceded by

the president. This took place on two days, July 19 and 20 (1876), but led to no immediate result. Ultimately, however, before the presentation of the schedule, a compromise was arrived at. It was agreed that in the case of the unbaptized, excommunicate, suicides, or those who have died in the commission of a grievous crime, it should be lawful for the minister to use, "*after the body has been laid into the earth*, prayers taken from the Book of Common Prayer and portions of Holy Scripture, approved by the Ordinary, so that they be not part of the order for the burial of the dead, nor of the order for the administration of Holy Communion." On the other hand, the eccentric idea of allowing hymns at a *silent* interment was abandoned, and the rubric ran thus: "Whenever either of the two foregoing services be used it shall be lawful for the officiating minister, at his discretion, to allow the use of hymns and anthems in the church or at the grave. Further, it shall be lawful for the minister, at the request or with the consent in writing of the kindred or friends of the deceased, to permit the corpse to be committed to the grave without any service, hymn, anthem, or address of any kind." The Northern Convocation sanctioned the shortened form of service, but said nothing as to the unspecified service permissible in the cases mentioned above. Nor did it sanction a silent interment or the use of hymns. In the initial rubric it agreed with that of Canterbury as to the wording, except that by confining the restrictions to the full office, it appears to allow the shortened office, afterwards specified, to be used in those cases where the full office is prohibited. Both Convocations adopted the important addition of the words, "or in the commission of any grievous crime;" and the valuable change of the old rubric to the following, "having laid violent hands on themselves *have not been found to be of unsound mind.*"

8. The value of these varieties of the Burial Service was in a great measure removed by the passing (1880) of the Burial Laws Amendment Act (43 and 44 Vict., c. 41). This took away the exclusive right of conducting burials in consecrated ground from the clergy of the Church of England, and enacted that on a due notice of forty-eight

hours being given to the incumbent, that it is intended that the deceased person shall be buried within the churchyard or graveyard of any parish or ecclesiastical district, without the performance of the service for the burial of the dead according to the rites of the Church of England, it shall be lawful for this to be done either without any religious service, or with "such Christian and orderly religious service" as shall be thought fit. The words Christian service were to "include every religious service used by any church denomination or person professing to be Christian." The same Act made it legal for the clergy of the Church of England to perform the burial service in unconsecrated ground, or to use a shortened form of service if allowed by the Ordinary. The alleged grievances of dissenters, compelled to take part in a service of which they did not approve, were the grounds put forward for the passing of this Act. It was strongly opposed by Churchmen, who argued among other reasons that the State was thus handing over to the use of dissenters the graveyards which, by the Act of 1868, abolishing compulsory Church rates,¹ they had ceased to have any part in protecting and maintaining. The panic, however, which was raised at the passing of the Act speedily subsided, it being found that very little use was made of its provisions.

9. The schedules of the amended rubrics, as finally agreed upon, were completed by the two Convocations for presentation to the Crown (Canterbury, July 4, 1879; York, August 1, 1879). Both of the schedules, as well as that of the ritual commissioners, may perhaps be thought somewhat *jejune*; but many useful alterations were indicated, and many directions made clearer. It was, however, generally held by Churchmen that the proposed alterations

¹ For the first attack on Church rates and its defeat, see Chap. XIII. Between 1855 and 1859 divers resolutions for the abolition of Church rates were passed in the House of Commons. In 1861 the number of votes for and against was equal. In 1862 a Bill for abolition was defeated by two; in 1863 by ten votes. At length, by way of getting rid of the constant agitation, Mr. Gladstone introduced and carried (1868) a Bill for the abolition of *compulsory* Church rates, which in fact amounted to the abolition of them altogether.

were not of sufficient importance to justify the hazardous experiment of endeavouring to obtain the legalisation of an amended Prayer Book by Act of Parliament. It was perceived that, if the Prayer Book were thus brought into a Parliament now no longer consisting exclusively of Churchmen, the gravest mischiefs might possibly ensue. Alterations might be voted which, not having received the sanction of the clerical body, could not be accepted by Churchmen, and a complete disruption between Church and State might be the consequence. It was to obviate this, and to point out the fitting way of making alterations, that in the schedule of Canterbury there was added to the ornaments rubric the following sentence: "Until further order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the approval of Parliament upon the recommendation of the Provincial Synods or Convocations of Canterbury and York." This was to indicate the proper method of obtaining alterations, but was thought to be scarcely a sufficient expression of the opinion of Convocation in a matter of so much importance. Consequently in May (1877) the Lower House of Canterbury voted—"They are of opinion that such legislation cannot be safely entered upon until some safeguards are devised against the possibility of changes affecting the worship of the Church becoming law by the action of Parliament alone without the consent of Convocation." The position seemed eminently unsatisfactory. The Convocation, after great labour, had voted certain alterations, and now declared that it did not desire to see the necessary steps for legalising them taken. That there was a good reason for its reluctance to proceed most persons will admit, but still it had a touch of absurdity about it. A way out of the difficulty was, however, soon found.

10. On February 14 (1878) the Lower House of Canterbury voted that "the ceremonial of the Church might be safely and constitutionally regulated from time to time in the following manner—namely, that the Convocations acting under the royal writ and archiepiscopal mandate should agree upon the draft of such canons and constitutions as they deemed desirable; that these drafts so approved by the Convocations should be submitted to

the Queen in Council; that they should further, if the Queen were so advised, be laid by her Majesty's command upon the table of both Houses of Parliament; and if no address from either House in opposition to them should be presented to the Crown within a limited period, then, that a royal license should issue for the enactment of such drafts into canons and constitutions, in accordance with the provision of the Act (25 Henry VIII., c. 19), and that such canons and constitutions should have the force of statute law." This resolution was practically in unison with a Bill introduced into the House of Lords in 1874 by the Bishop of London. This Bill was afterwards withdrawn.¹ The Upper House of Canterbury having considered this resolution gave a general assent to it, but required the Lower House to draft a Bill embodying it. The draft Bill was not a very happy effort, as it endeavoured to combine two things—the legalising of the rubrics already voted, and a method of procedure for the future. If this latter, as indicated in the Bill, should ever obtain legal sanction, it will doubtless be an enormous boon to the Church of England.

11. During the period principally occupied with the consideration of the rubrics, several important matters came before the Convocation of Canterbury. At the beginning of the year 1870 a committee was moved for in the Upper House to consider the question of the revision of the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures. On May 3 the report of the committee was presented by the Bishop of Winchester, when it was found that the committee had arrived at the resolutions following:—

"(1.) That it is desirable that a revision of the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures be undertaken.

"(2.) That the revision be so conducted as to comprise both marginal renderings and such emendations as it may be found necessary to insert in the text of the authorised version.

"(3.) That in the above resolutions we do not contemplate any new translation of the Bible, or any alteration of the language, except where in the judgment of the most competent scholars such change is necessary.

"(4.) That in such necessary changes the style of the

¹ *Revision of the Rubrics*, by the Rev. Walsham How, p. 80.

language employed in the existing version be closely followed.

“(5.) That it is desirable that Convocation should nominate a body of its own members to undertake the work of revision, who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship, to whatever nation or religious body they may belong.”¹

After considerable discussion this report was adopted and a committee of eight bishops nominated. The Lower House was requested to appoint an equal number of its members to act on the committee, and though this elicited some murmurs (it being the ordinary custom that in joint committees the number of the members of the Lower should be double that of the members of the Upper), it was acceded to, and eight members of the Lower House were appointed. This resolution was not arrived at until after a long and very able debate, in which many misgivings as to the proposed work were expressed. Whether these misgivings have or have not been falsified, Churchmen are now able to judge for themselves.

12. On April 28, 1874, a Bill having been introduced into the House of Lords for regulating public worship, by giving increased facilities for proceeding against clergy who introduced illegal ritual, the president desired the opinion of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury “in view of the proposed legislation.” The Lower House responded by “regretting their inability to approve the provisions of the Bill recently introduced into the House of Lords,” and requesting his Grace to direct the appointment of a committee “to consider the said matters and the said Bill, and to report thereon.” A committee was accordingly appointed on May 1, with a direction to report on the Bill on May 7. In their report the committee state that “they are of opinion that any further regulations required for the administration of the laws relating to the performance of divine service according to the use of the Church of England, should be by canon rather than by statute, and that the most effectual way of enabling the bishops to exercise their authority over the clergy would

¹ *Chronicle of Convocation of Canterbury for 1870*, p. 210.

be to simplify the proceedings of their courts by canonical regulations." They then proceed to criticise the clauses of the Bill according to his Grace's directions, and recommend many serious alterations. They conclude their report as follows: "The committee, after having in dutiful obedience to the president carefully considered the provisions of the Bill laid before them by his Grace, deeply regret that even with the amendments suggested they are unable to recommend legislation in the manner proposed in the Bill." And they are further of opinion that if "the Church Discipline Act were repealed, and the existing Consistory Courts were reformed, there would be little difficulty in dealing expeditiously with the cases contemplated by this Bill." This report having been adopted by the Lower House constituted an emphatic protest, so far as that House was concerned, against the proposed legislation.

13. That legislation went forward notwithstanding, and at length resulted in the Act known as the Public Worship Regulation Act,¹ which, being suspended for a year in the expectation of some changes being made in the rubrics, came into force in 1875. The plan of legislating for the Church, in the face of a protest from the constitutional representatives of the Church, and of introducing non-ecclesiastical procedure, has proved eminently disastrous. The judge appointed under the Act, who was to take the place of the old ecclesiastical judges of the two provinces, being appointed by Act of Parliament, and not in the ancient way by the archbishops,² many clergy felt unable to recognise his courts or his decisions. When to this was added, that these decisions were given in accordance with those of the Court of Final Appeal, which were not accepted by the Church generally as a due enunciation of law (being in fact only decisions of the particular cases then being tried), a complete obstacle to any satisfactory results was set up. No less than four clergy, against whom adverse decisions had been given, elected to go to prison rather

¹ 37 and 38 Vict., c. 85.

² See *Ecclesiastical Courts*. A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Right Hon. J. G. Hubbard, M.P., and appendix giving the text of the appointments.—(Rivingtons, 1880).

than to recognise the jurisdiction of the court¹—a state of things which even those most anxious for the strict observance of the law could hardly regard with satisfaction. Worse results would probably have followed, had not the bishops in many cases determined to exercise the veto allowed them under the Act, and thus to prevent ritual prosecutions. The royal commission on ecclesiastical courts has recommended the repeal of this unfortunate Act.

14. During the time that the Convocations had been deliberating on the rubrics the developments of Ritualism had gone forward at an accelerated rate, and the Mackonochie and Purchas judgments had done nothing to deter, but seemed rather to have stimulated the advance of ceremonial. That things were done in some churches which, on no conceivable ground of interpretation, could fairly be based on the English Prayer Book, can hardly be denied. There seemed to be exhibited in some quarters an unhealthy desire to imitate Romanist practices, and to take as a model that false and meretricious system. This naturally and justly excited considerable indignation. In some cases an extreme ceremonial was found in conjunction with doctrines and practices which gave still greater offence. That prayers for the dead, the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, the reservation of the sacrament, and the practice of habitual confession, could find a place in churches of the reformed Anglican rite, seemed to many so monstrous that any means which might serve to repress such practices appeared justifiable. Thus some good persons thought themselves obliged to resort to the law courts, even if their suits led to the incarceration of clergy who were zealously labouring in their office, and, by the confession even of their opponents, much given to good works. In one of these cases the matter came into the Court of Final Appeal, and a judgment was given so strange and unintelligible to ordinary understandings, and having about it so suspicious a look of bias and policy, that it only tended to aggravate the situation and raise a fresh barrier in the way of the settlement of these perplexing questions. The details of this will be given in the following chapter.

¹ A fifth case has now been added (1887).

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE RIDSDALE CASE

1875-1879

1. The case of *Clifton v. Ridsdale* before the Arches Court. 2. Judgment as to "vestments." 3. As to celebrating with only one communicant. 4. As to the crucifix on the rood screen. 5. The pictures of the stations of the cross. 6. Court of Final Appeal—The effect of the "advertisements." 7. The "vestments" ruled to be illegal. 8. "Standing before the table" ruled to be legal with a limitation. 9. The charge as to wafer bread not proved. 10. Crucifix on rood screen not permissible. 11. Judgment of the Court on the "advertisements." 12. The Act of Elizabeth with the advertisements read in to govern ornaments rubric. 13. "Further order" was taken by the Queen previous to the advertisements. 14. Contrast between the wording of this and the advertisements. 15. Continued variety of opinions as to ornaments rubric. 16. The permissive view.

1. In the year 1875 a complaint was made by three parishioners of the parish of St. Peter, Folkstone, to the Archbishop of Canterbury as diocesan, against the Rev. Charles Ridsdale, the incumbent of the parish, for certain alleged unlawful practices in the performance of divine service. The action was taken under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. The archbishop sent the case for hearing before Lord Penzance as judge of the Arches Court. The hearing took place in January 1876. On February 3 the learned judge pronounced judgment. He first took the opportunity of saying something to clear his own position as judge of the Arches Court, endeavouring to show that he had fully and properly succeeded to the office of ecclesiastical judge, although his position was due to an Act of Parliament, and although the ancient methods of appointment had not in his case been observed. He then enumerates the offences charged against Mr. Ridsdale. (1.) The use of lighted candles on the communion table

when not required for giving light. (2.) The mixing of water with wine for the service of the Holy Communion. (3.) The use of wafer bread at the Holy Communion. (4.) Standing at the table facing eastward, so that the breaking of the bread could not be seen. (5.) Kneeling during the prayer of consecration. (6.) Causing the *Agnus Dei* to be sung after the consecration. (7 and 8.) Taking part in processions around the church with cross, banners, and music. These eight charges having been admitted by the respondent (as being true as regards the fact), and (in the words of the judge) "the unlawfulness of his conduct on these occasions being unquestioned before me, and in my judgment unquestionable, my duty on the present occasion will be confined to admonishing him not to offend again in the same way."

2. Another charge required more detailed examination, viz. the celebrating the Holy Communion in the vestures known as "chasuble" and "albe." In deciding this question the judge was met by conflicting decisions of the ecclesiastical judges and the Court of Appeal. He says, "Dr. Lushington, Sir John Dodson, and Sir R. Phillimore have all held what are called the Edwardian vestments to be lawful. By the Court of Appeal in *Westerton v. Liddell*, it was affirmed that 'the *same dresses*, and the same utensils or articles which were used under the First Prayer Book of Edward VI., may still be used.' In the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie* it was declared generally that the Court entirely concurred in the construction of the ornaments rubric in the previous case. With this decision the subsequent one of *Hebbert v. Purchas*, condemning the vestments which are among the "ornaments" prescribed by the First Book of Edward VI., appears to be directly in conflict. It may be that this conflict of authorities is rather apparent than real, but whether it be one or the other my course in this Court is clear. I must hold that Mr. Ridsdale has offended against the law in celebrating the communion in a chasuble and in an albe, and admonish him to refrain from doing so in future."

3. The next charge against Mr. Ridsdale was that he celebrated the Holy Communion when there was only one

person to communicate with the priest. To this it was answered that the priest had no means of knowing that such would be the case before consecrating; that there were over two hundred persons in the church, and nothing to prevent more than one presenting himself for the reception. The learned judge examined this question at much length, and came to the conclusion, "Whatever may be said as to whether reasonable grounds for believing that the proper number would communicate existed or not, it is clear, I think, that the respondent must establish that he did, in fact, believe that they would do so, before he could possibly be in a position to set up any exculpation based on the imperfect state of his own knowledge. This he has failed to do. The rubric has, in my opinion, been violated, and without excuse. It will therefore be my duty to admonish the respondent to obey the rubric hereafter."

4. The next charge was the having set up a crucifix on an iron rood screen with a large number of lights arranged on each side of it. Here the judge examines the decision in *Westerton v. Liddell*, which permitted crosses to be erected in a church for purposes of "decoration," and that in *Philpotts v. Boyd*, which allowed sculptured figures to be set up in a church for the purpose of decoration only, and when no superstitious reverence was likely to be paid to such figures.¹ He declares that these two cases afford the Court a sufficient guide for the principles which it is bound to apply. But inasmuch as the crucifix in that particular place, namely on the rood screen, could not be disconnected from the history of its position in that special place before the Reformation, when superstitious reverence was certainly paid to it, the judge comes to the conclusion as follows: "I must declare that the crucifix surmounting the screen has not been shown to my satisfaction to have been set up as an architectural decoration only, and that there does exist a likelihood that it may be the object of 'adoration' and 'superstitious reverence.' We therefore order its removal."

¹ This was the case of the Exeter Cathedral reredos, which contains several sculptured figures, and was objected to, but ruled to be legal.

5. With regard to certain pictures which had been placed on the walls of the church called the "Stations of the Cross," the judge decides that as they were set up without a faculty they must be removed. He also enters into the question of their suitableness for a place in a church of the English rite, and pronounces against it. He thus decided against the respondent on all the twelve charges preferred against him. Mr. Ridsdale appealed to the Final Court of Appeal against four of the decisions, namely, those which prohibited the use of the Edwardian vestments, of wafer bread, the eastward position of the minister in the prayer of consecration, and the crucifix. The decision of their lordships on these points was pronounced on May 12, 1877, after long and learned arguments by counsel on both sides.¹

6. The first point, which engaged their lordships' attention, and which was treated at great length, and in an argumentative rather than a judicial manner, was the meaning and binding force of the ornaments rubric. Much stress was laid upon the clause in the rubric in Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book, which provides that the direction of the rubric shall be binding "until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners, appointed under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the metropolitan of this realm." It was held by the Court that such "other order" had been taken in and by the "Book of Advertisements" published in 1566, which orders the use of a cope in cathedral and collegiate churches, but in other churches "that every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves." This direction, it was held, practically abolished that part of the rubric which prescribes the Edwardian vestments. It was accepted in

¹ There were present at the hearing the Lord Chancellor, Lord Selborne, Sir James W. Colville, the Lord Chief Baron, Sir R. Phillimore, Lord Justice James, Sir M. Smith, Sir R. P. Collier, Sir B. Brett, and Sir R. Amphlett. The episcopal assessors were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of St. Asaph, the Bishop of Ely, and the Bishop of St. David's.

the canons of 1604 as prescribing the legal dress of the minister, and was generally acted upon for a hundred years, as the bishops' inquiries and visitation articles show.

7. But the question was not what was the law in the times before the Restoration, but what was the present law as defined by the rubrics of the Prayer Book of 1662, and the last Act of Uniformity. Here their lordships argue that "the restoration of vestures, which had not been in use for nearly a hundred years, and had become associated, not in the popular mind only, with the idea of superstition, cannot well be supposed to have been contemplated by the legislature as a change conducive to the peace of the Church or to agreement within its pale." "Their lordships cannot look upon this rubric as being otherwise than what it was before—a memorandum or note of reference to that law (Elizabeth's Statute of Uniformity). . . . The words 'shall be retained and be in use' were not in the former rubric, but they were in the statute. If intended as a mere extract from the statute, or to continue and carry forward in 1662 the use of those things which were then actually, or in contemplation of law, in use under the statute, they are apt and appropriate; but if it was meant to bring back an old and long disused state of things, by making the rubric of 1662 for that purpose a new point of departure, repealing the 25th Section of 1 Eliz., c. 2, and all that had been done under it, the substitution of this particular language for the words of the former rubric, 'the ministers shall use,' etc., and the recurrence to the exact phraseology of the enactment about to be superseded, would seem to be the most inappropriate way conceivable of accomplishing that object. . . . Their lordships have said sufficient to show that in their opinion, according to the ordinary principles of legal construction and interpretation, the ornaments rubric of 1662 cannot be looked at otherwise than in connection with the Statute 1 Eliz., c. 2, *into which Statute they consider that the advertisements ought to be read*. The rubric is to be regarded merely as a note or reference to the Elizabethan Statute thus amplified. As to *Westerton v. Liddell*, everything said and done in that case to which the rubric of 1662 was material, had

reference exclusively to 'ornaments of the church.' With respect to the decision of the judicial committee in *Martin v. Mackonochie*, little need be said. They are of opinion that the decision of the learned judge of the Arches Court, as to the vestments worn by the appellant, following that of this committee in *Hebbert v. Purchas*, is correct and ought to be affirmed."

8. With respect to the position taken by the appellant in saying the prayer of consecration at the Holy Communion, their lordships rule, "The minister is to order the elements 'standing before the table.' Beyond this and after this there is no specific direction that he is to stand on the west side, or to stand on the north side. He must, in the opinion of their lordships, stand so that he may in good faith enable the communicants present, or the bulk of them, being properly placed, to see, if they wish it, the breaking of the bread, and the performance of the other manual acts mentioned. He must not interpose his body so as intentionally to defeat the object of the rubric, and to prevent this result. . . . Their lordships are not prepared to hold that a penal charge is established against the appellant merely by the proof that he stood at the west side of the communion table while saying the consecration prayer, without further evidence that the people could not see him break the bread or take the cup into his hand, and they will therefore recommend that an alteration be made in the decree in this respect."

9. The third point on which the appellant had sought redress was his condemnation for the use of wafer bread in the Holy Communion. On this matter their lordships pronounce against the legality of the use of wafer bread properly so called, but do not hold it to be established that the appellant had used such bread. It had been established that he had used bread in the form of wafers, but as no proof had been given as to the composition of such bread, it was possible that it might have been leavened bread in the form of wafers, and as "the averment and proof is insufficient they will advise an alteration of the decree in this respect."

10. With regard to the setting up of the crucifix on

the screen across the chancel arch, on which a reversal of the decree of the Court below was sought, their lordships are of opinion that the decree of the judge of the Arches Court must be affirmed. They fully support the ruling in the case of *Philpotts v. Boyd*, that sculptured figures may be set up in churches for the purposes of decoration, and where there is no danger of superstitious reverence being paid to them; but taking the same view as to the special history of the crucifix in this particular place, which was taken by the judge in the Arches Court, they are of opinion that there is a danger of superstitious reverence being paid in this case, and, therefore, that it should not be permitted. The Court of Appeal thus reverses the decision of the Arches Court on two points, viz. as to the eastward position of the celebrant, which is pronounced not unlawful where the manual acts can be seen, and to the use of wafers, which, though held to be unlawful, are not shown to have been used. But it affirms the decree of the Arches Court as to the unlawfulness of the Edwardian vestments, and as to that of setting up a crucifix on the chancel screen.

11. The ruling of the Court as regards the Edwardian vestments, and its treatment of the ornaments rubric, were received with very general astonishment. That Archbishop Parker's "advertisements," for which he was so anxious to obtain the Queen's authority—an authority which she appeared steadfastly to refuse to give to them—should be treated as the taking of "other order" by the Queen under the Act of Uniformity, which provided that this power should be reserved to her Majesty, was to many minds startling. It seemed also remarkable that in their elaborate argument with a view to justify this position their lordships should have quoted several passages which appear to make directly against it. Thus they quote Bishop Cox as inquiring whether the clergy obey "the Queen's Majesty's injunctions *and* the 'Book of Advertisements';" Archbishop Whitgift, as enjoining the use of such kind of apparel "as is provided in the 'Book of Advertisements,' *and* her Majesty's injunctions;" Bishop Thornborough, as writing, "according to the late Queen's Majesty's injunc-

tions in that behalf provided, *and according to the* 'Book of Advertisements.' " But the surprise caused by these novel interpretations was surpassed by that which was produced by the argument of their lordships on the ornaments rubric, and the ruling which seemed to make this rubric mean the exact opposite to that which its words apparently assert.

12. Laying down the position that the Act 1 Eliz., c. 2, is an "unrepealed and effective law," that this Act allowed "other order" to be taken by the Queen, that this "other order" was taken in the "Book of Advertisements," and that therefore the Act may be held to *contain* the advertisements, their lordships say: "In order to judge whether there is anything inconsistent and irreconcilable between the ornaments rubric in the new Prayer Book and the 25th section of the older statute, that section must be read as if the order taken under the section had been *inserted in it*; and as so read, their lordships see nothing inconsistent between the rubric and the section. The rubric served, as it had long previously served, *as a note to remind the Church* that the general standard of ornaments, both of the Church and the ministers, was to be that established by the authority of Parliament in 1549; but that this standard was set up under a law, still unrepealed, which engrafted on the standard a qualification that, as to the vestures of the parish ministers, the surplice, and *not* the albe, vestment, or tunicle, should be used." This argument was commonly described, and not without good reason, as simply reading a *not* into the rubric, and turning an affirmative proposition into a negative.

13. But the most remarkable point connected with this famous judgment remains to be touched. It does not appear that any of the learned judges who drew it up and concurred in it were aware (at least there is no evidence in the judgment that they were aware) that this "other order" for which provision was made in the Act of Parliament had been already taken by the Queen, before the appearance of the "advertisements," and that thus the power reserved had been (presumably) exhausted, or if the

power still remained to her Majesty, yet that a precedent had been set which, if the process had been repealed, would (presumably) have been followed. This action of her Majesty had either escaped the notice of their lordships, or was not thought relevant to the matter in hand. It was reserved for a learned and painstaking investigator of the records of these times to bring it forward, and in a tract of great power to show its full significance to the judgment.¹ It appears that on January 22, 1561, the Queen issued letters under the great seal to her commissioners, of which the following extracts present the chief points :—

“Letting you to understand that where it is provided by an Act of Parliament, holden in the first year of our reign, that whensoever we shall see cause to take *further order* in any rite or ceremony appointed in the Book of Common Prayer, and our pleasure known therein either to our commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, or to the metropolitan, that then eftsoons consideration should be had therein. We, therefore, understanding that there be in the said book certain chapters for lessons which might be supplied with other chapters, more to their edification, and that, furthermore, in sundry churches and chapels there is such negligence and lack of convenient reverence used towards the comely keeping and order of the said churches, and especially of the upper part called the chancels, have thought good to require you, our said commissioners, so authorised by our great seal for causes ecclesiastical, to peruse the order of the said lessons throughout the whole year, and to cause some new calendars to be imprinted whereby such chapters may be removed, and other more profitable may supply their rooms. And further, also to consider as becometh the foresaid great disorders in the decays of churches, and in the unseemly keeping and order of chancels ; and, amongst other things,

¹ “Did Queen Elizabeth take ‘other order’ in the Advertisements of 1566 ?” A letter to Lord Selborne by James Parker, Hon. M.A., Oxford. Mr. Parker says (p. 9), “Of this ‘other order’ to which I am about to refer I find no mention in the Ridsdale judgment ; but the omission is important.”

to order that the tables of the Commandments may be comely set or hung up in the east end of the chancel, to be not only read for edification, but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant on this behalf.

"Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, in the third year of our reign.

"To the most reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, now our commissioner for causes ecclesiastical."

14. It was necessary to quote this document at length in order to understand Mr. Parker's argument based upon it. He compares, "or rather contrasts," it with the "Book of Advertisements," and shows (1) that this "further order" was the Queen's personal act, while the advertisements are agreed on and subscribed by the bishops; (2) that the order of 1561 refers to the Act of Parliament, whereas the advertisements refer to a letter of the Queen, which does not refer to any Act; (3) that the order of 1561 represents itself as a royal warrant, the advertisements are issued by the archbishop by virtue of the Queen's letter directed to him; (4) the order is given under the Queen's signet, the advertisements have not the Queen's signature; (5) the order is found filed among the State papers in the Record Office. Of the advertisements there is no authorised copy, but only one MS. copy known, which bears upon it the words, "Ordinances accorded by the Archbishop of Canterbury *in his province*. These were not authorised nor published,"—these words being in the handwriting of Cecil; (6) the order of 1561 produced alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, viz. in the calendar. The advertisements produced no alteration, the rubric as to the dress of the minister remaining the same after their publication as before.

15. This may serve as a specimen of Mr. Parker's elaborate argument against the binding authority of the advertisements, but it only represents a very small part of the arguments adduced against this position of their lord-

ships,¹ on which it may be said the whole of their judgment as to the legality of the Edwardian vestments hangs. On the other hand, very able pamphlets were written to support the contention that the vestments of the First Book of Edward VI. were illegal.² It was certainly shown to demonstration that they had never, or scarce ever, been used in the Church of England after the Reformation until their revival in quite modern times. The ornaments rubric—its true meaning and intention—seemed to be still surrounded with considerable mystery.

16. Some very learned and influential divines have advocated a middle theory between the two contending parties, viz. that the ornaments rubric is permissive, not obligatory. "I have never concealed from you my opinion," writes the Bishop of Lincoln in his charge of 1879, "which time and thought have strengthened, that the ornaments rubric *permits*, but does not require, the use of the vestments specified in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI." Some very weighty arguments are then adduced for this opinion. The bishop continues: "If the Convocation at the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1661 had intended that the parochial clergy should never wear any vestments except surplice, hood, stole or scarf, and black gown, they would certainly have said so. But on the other hand, if they had desired that these vestments should be obligatory, they would not have softened the rubric as they did. May I presume to add, with due submission to legal and judicial authorities, that these considerations appear to justify a peaceful solution of our present difficulties."³ There are thus three views as to this rubric, viz. that of the Court of Appeal, that it *prohibits* the Edwardian vestments; that of a large number of learned persons, that it *enforces* them; and that of many divines of influence and weight, that it *permits* them.

¹ See *Recent Judgment, Ridsdale v. Clifton*, by the Rev. C. S. Grueber, M.A., etc. etc.

² See *The Edwardian Vestments*, by Henry Richard Droop, M.A.; *Mr. Parker's Fallacies Refuted*, by Rev. W. Milton, M.A., etc. etc.

³ *Ten Addresses*, by C. Wordsworth, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln, pp. 57, 61, 62.

That the use of these vestments has increased enormously in the Church of England since the publication of the Ridsdale judgment is certain. It is greatly to be desired that an ecclesiastical synod of the whole Church of England should pronounce an authoritative decision on the matter, and that it should no longer be left to the caprices of private judgment, and to be the cause of interminable disputes. In the meantime, the resolution of the Convocation of the province of Canterbury (as given in the preceding chapter) may serve as a sufficient guide, at least to the clergy of the southern province.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SECOND PAN-ANGLICAN CONFERENCE

1878

1. The gathering of the bishops—Commemoration day at St. Augustine's.
2. Sermon by Bishop Coxe—Address by the Primate.
3. Opening of the conference—Sermon by Archbishop of York.
4. The Primate's address.
5. The discussions of the conference.
6. The bishops in England.
7. Concluding service at St. Paul's—Sermon by Bishop of Pennsylvania.
8. The preface to reports of committees.
9. Report on the best means of maintaining union.
10. On voluntary board of arbitration.
11. On missionary bishops and missionaries.
12. Anglican chaplaincies on the Continent.
13. The Old Catholics.
14. The West Indian dioceses.
15. The marriage laws.
16. Missionary Board of Reference.
17. Ritualism and confession.
18. The report on infidelity not completed—Conclusion of the conference.

1. THE success of the Lambeth Conference of 1867, and the desire then expressed by many of the members, that gatherings of the bishops of the Anglican rite should take place at intervals of ten years, induced Archbishop Tait to issue letters of invitation to all the bishops in communion with the Church of England to meet at Lambeth on July 2, 1878. The invitation met with a most ready response, and before the end of June a large number of prelates had arrived in England from all quarters of the globe. It chanced that the anniversary of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury¹ (St. Peter's day, June 29), fell a few days before the date fixed for the opening of

¹ This college was founded by Royal Charter in 1848 on the site of the old monastery so intimately connected with the beginnings of the Christian Church in England (see Part I. p. 29), and owed its origin to the munificence of Churchmen, among whom Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope, M.P., and the Rev. Edward Coleridge were conspicuous. The college accommodates fifty-two students designed for mission work.

the Lambeth Synod. The warden of St. Augustine's seized the opportunity of inviting the prelates to Canterbury—the occasion and the place being specially appropriate for such a gathering. Between thirty and forty bishops appeared in the cathedral, and took part in the services of the day. They represented nearly every part of the habitable world—India, America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Southern Pacific, the West Indies, Africa. “The gathering on this site, consecrated by such absorbing memories, was in every way a very remarkable one. It was impossible not mentally to contrast the first beginnings of the English Church, feebly and timidly laid by the hands of Augustine on that spot, with the widespread and far-reaching dominion now exercised by her, of which this episcopal assemblage was a visible and incontrovertible demonstration; while doubtless many a prayer was silently raised that the deliberations of the coming weeks might be guided by the Holy Spirit of God to the maintenance and extension of the pure faith and apostolical order of which the Church of England is the providentially appointed channel to the world.”¹

2. The commemoration services were, as may well be imagined, of a most hearty character. The venerable Bishop of Western New York (Bishop Cleveland Coxe), so well known throughout the Anglican Church for his devout poetry and theological learning, preached the sermon. He spoke of the deep feelings and of the thoughts which came crowding upon the minds of those who came from a distance, “gathering around their maternal See, at the bidding of the Primate, like children about their mothers' knees.” He spoke of a former visit made by him to St. Augustine's seven-and-twenty years before. “How vast,” said the bishop, “were the changes those years had seen. There was present then that man of strength and noble form, Bishop Blomfield, who might be not unjustly termed the founder of the Colonial Episcopate. There were the silver tones of Wilberforce, and the magnificence of his every word and gesture. There was the noble Selwyn, who had then been just invigorating the Church by his noble efforts

¹ *Guardian*.

beneath the Southern Cross, and who came back to die beneath the Northern Crown. There was Keble, who has left such an imperishable legacy to the Church. There was Joshua Watson, the type of the faithful laity of the Church." An entertainment and congratulatory speeches followed the service. Before the evening service in the cathedral the archbishop delivered a formal address of welcome of the prelates "to the cradle of Anglo-Saxon Christianity." "I am addressing you," said his Grace, "from St. Augustine's chair. This thought carries us back to the time when that first missionary to our Saxon forefathers, amid much discouragement, landed on these then barbarous shores. More than twelve centuries and a half have rolled on since then. The seed he sowed has borne an abundant harvest, and this great British nation, and our sister beyond the ocean, have cause to render thanks to God for the work begun by him here. Gregory sent him here that he might mark England with the name of Christ — 'that name which is above every name.' God grant this name may be ever more and more acknowledged among us, that its glories may shine more and more brightly here and in your distant dioceses, triumphing over all obstacles, and reconciling all petty divisions, uniting all hearts in the truth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

3. On Sunday afternoon (June 30) the Bishop of Pennsylvania (Dr. Stevens) preached a striking sermon in Canterbury Cathedral on "The Church of the Living God." And on Tuesday, July 2, the conference or synod was opened in the chapel of Lambeth Palace by a celebration of the Holy Communion, and a sermon by the Archbishop of York. His sermon was founded on the difference between Sts. Peter and Paul at Antioch as to the treatment of the Gentile converts. From the differences which existed in the early Church, but in the midst of which the divine life of the Church continued to grow, he drew happy auguries for the future; at the same time he advocated peace. "We, right reverend fathers," said the archbishop, "meeting a second time in conference upon the interests of that branch of the Church which, springing from this little island, has so spread over the earth that the sun

never sets upon her daughter churches, we will never admit a doubt that God is with us still. Struggle and conflict, and even partial failure, should not convince us that God has left us; they are the heritage of the Church from the beginning. And whilst we are resolved to hold fast the faith committed to us, we may endeavour in one point to go beyond our fathers: the candour and charity which spring from a firm trust in the truth, these should be our aim and special study."

4. In the afternoon the conference assembled in the great hall. In his opening address the Primate touched first upon the meaning of such a conference as that now assembled, and the necessity of such mutual counsel among those appointed to direct the affairs of the Church at home and abroad, at a time when she is assailed from without, and possibly also from within. In discussing the matters which were now to come before them they should be guided by certain principles. First, the Church of Christ must beware of wasting her energies on minor matters and mere questions of detail, while greater things are at stake. Among the subjects to come before the conference one stood pre-eminent in importance—that, namely, which related to the best modes of meeting the prevalent infidelity of the day. When every common periodical is filled with questionings whether there is a personal God, whether there is a life hereafter, whether a revelation is possible, the Church had something else to do than to confine herself to details. The special subject which occupied the bishops in the afternoon was "The best mode of maintaining union among the various churches of the Anglican communion."

5. The number of bishops assembled at Lambeth, and who took part in the conference, amounted to one hundred.¹ The discussion of the subjects was private, no authorised report being published. The subjects after discussion were referred to committees, whose reports, when accepted and approved by the conference, were afterwards made public.

¹ For a list of the names as they were arranged in order of precedence for the procession to enter Lambeth Chapel, see Notes and Illustrations to this chapter. The number of names in that list is one hundred and six, so that not all those in that list took part in the conference.

It was, of course, known to the outside world what subjects were under discussion each day. On Wednesday, July 3, the question of "Voluntary boards of arbitration for churches" was before the conference in the morning, and in the afternoon "The relation to each other of missionary bishops and of missionaries in various parts of the Anglican communion acting in the same country."¹ On Thursday the morning subject was the position of Anglican and American chaplains on the continent of Europe, and in the afternoon, the all-important subject of infidelity and its alleged growth and increase. The discussion of this grave subject is said to have been extremely able, several of the English bishops having particularly distinguished themselves. On Friday the conference was occupied with the needs of the various churches of the Anglican communion. All these subjects having been referred to committees to report upon with all due expedition, the conference adjourned to July 22 to receive the reports of the committees.

6. Meantime the presence of so great a number of distinguished foreign prelates in England caused naturally much excitement. The Lord Mayor gave a grand banquet at the Mansion House to the English, Colonial, and American prelates. In returning thanks for the toast of the colonial bishops the Bishop of Sydney said, "If a traveller left England and went by Gibraltar and Malta through the Suez Canal to Aden, to Galle, or to Bombay, and thence to Western Australia, he would find English churches everywhere. If he left Liverpool, crossed the Atlantic and the great continent of America to San Francisco, sailed to Honolulu, touched at Fiji, and thence to New Zealand, so reaching the east coast of Australia, the same race, the same language, the same service, and the same salutary influences were at work."² Without doubt many who had before been unobservant of these things were now impressed with the almost universal spread of

¹ This raised the point of the dispute between the Bishop of Ceylon and the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, who had raised difficulties as to the bishop's jurisdiction.

² *Guardian*.

the Anglican Church, and the vast power which it had now obtained in the world. At St. Paul's every Sunday during their stay were heard the eloquent voices of the American prelates, most of whom were distinguished orators. Other cathedrals and churches were visited, and all ecclesiastical gatherings received a vast increase of interest and life from the presence of some of these distinguished representatives of sister churches.

7. The conference, which had reassembled on July 22 for the reception and discussion of the reports of committees, finished its sessions on Friday, July 26, and celebrated its close by a grand service at St. Paul's on the following morning. Eighty-four bishops, formed in order of procession, preceded the Archbishop of Canterbury in a stately progress up the vast nave of St. Paul's. The *Te Deum* was grandly sung by way of introit into the choir, after which the Archbishop of Canterbury commenced the Liturgy, with the Bishops of Winchester and London as Epistoler and Gospeller. The sermon was preached by Dr. Stevens, Bishop of Pennsylvania, who thus alluded to the conference just completed: "Within this present month and within the Library of Lambeth Palace has been made a history, the record of which will constitute one of the most illuminated chapters in the annals of the Holy Catholic Church. Never before have so many English-speaking bishops met together. Never before have all branches of the Anglican communion been so fully represented in an ecclesiastical assembly. Such a gathering converges to itself the eyes of the thinking world, and such a gathering must radiate from itself a power for weal or woe that shall reach to the distant ages. The history of that conference is made. The results of that conference will be fully known only when the records of eternity shall be revealed. We met as standard-bearers of the Cross of Christ. That fact has been the prominent one in all our deliberations, and we separate to go back to our dioceses more impressed than ever that it is in and through an uplifted Christ—faithfully held up and fully displayed—that our work can be accomplished, and all men—men of all races, all climes, all countries—can be drawn to the feet

of the Crucified and to the Church, which is His Body. In this precious truth we have found not only a bond of personal union, but of real unity throughout the wide-spreading branches of our Holy Church.”¹

8. The results of the deliberations of the committees, as accepted by the conference, were made known to the Church with the preface following: “We, archbishops, bishops metropolitan, and other bishops of the Holy Catholic Church in full communion with the Church of England, one hundred in number, all exercising superintendence over dioceses, or lawfully commissioned to exercise episcopal functions therein, assembled, many of us from the most distant parts of the earth, at Lambeth Palace, in the year of our Lord 1878, under the presidency of the Most Reverend Archibald, by divine Providence Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, after receiving in the private chapel of the said palace the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord’s Body and Blood, and after having united in prayer for the guidance of the Holy Spirit, have taken into consideration various definite questions submitted to us affecting the condition of the Church in divers parts of the world. We have made these questions the subject of serious deliberation for many days, and we now commend to the faithful the conclusions which we have adopted.” Of the reports of the committees adopted by the conference, and thus set forth, some of the main features were as follows:—

9. *On the Best Mode of maintaining Union.*—The committee recognise with thankfulness the essential union which the Church of England and the churches in communion with her have maintained in the past. There are certain principles of church order which they hold ought to be recognised and set forward as of importance for the maintenance of union among the churches—(1.) That the duly certified action of every individual or national church, and of each ecclesiastical province (or diocese not included in a province), in the exercise of its own discipline, should be respected by all the other churches and by their individual members. (2.) That when a diocese or territorial

¹ *Guardian.*

sphere of administration has been constituted by any church or province of this communion within its own limits, no bishop or other clergyman of any other church should exercise his functions within that diocese without the consent of the bishop thereof. (3.) That no bishop should authorise to officiate in his diocese a clergyman coming from another church or province, unless such clergyman present letters testimonial, countersigned by the bishop of the diocese from which he comes, such letters to be as nearly as possible in the form adopted by each church or province in the case of the transfer of a clergyman from one parish to another. The committee proceed to state their belief that—"Next to oneness in the faith once delivered to the saints, communion in worship is the link which most firmly binds together bodies of Christians; and remembering that the Book of Common Prayer, retained as it is with some modifications by all our churches, has been one principal bond of union between them, desire to call attention to the fact that such communion of worship may be endangered by excessive diversities of ritual. They believe that the internal unity of the several churches will help greatly towards the union of these one with another. And while they consider that such large elasticity in worship is desirable as will give scope to all legitimate expression of devotional feeling, they would appeal on the other hand to the apostolic precept, 'Let all things be done unto edifying,' and to the catholic principle that order and obedience, even at the sacrifice of personal preferences and tastes, lie at the foundation of Christian unity, and are ever essential to the successful maintenance of the faith. They trust that Churchmen of all views, however varying, will recognise the duty of submitting themselves for conscience' sake in matters ritual and ceremonial to the judgment of the church to which they belong, and that they will abstain from all that tends to estrangement or irritation, and will rather pray for brotherly union."

10. *On Voluntary Board of Arbitration.*—The committee having taken into consideration the action of some colonial churches since the report of 1867, recommend

I. (a) Every ecclesiastical province which has consti-

tuted for the exercise of discipline over its clergy a tribunal for receiving appeals from its diocesan courts, should be held responsible for its own decisions in the exercise of such discipline, and the committee are not prepared to recommend that there should be any one central appeal from such provincial tribunals.

(b) If a province desires to obtain the opinion of some council of reference before a decision, it should determine the conditions of reference for itself, the case being stated in writing and the decision given on the facts, and not merely on the abstract question.

(c) In dioceses not yet combined into a province, and not capable of being so, the appeal should lie to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be heard by him with such assistance as he shall judge best. The circumstances of the diocese must determine how far such consensual jurisdiction can be enforced.

II. With regard to the *trial of a bishop* the committee recommend that the following conditions should be introduced by voluntary compact into the constitution of churches :—

(a) When a bishop has been sentenced by a tribunal constituted by the province, if no bishop of the province other than the accused shall dissent from the sentence, then there shall be no appeal, provided that no fewer than five bishops constitute the court.

(b) Where the province is too small to constitute a court of five bishops, the committee recommend that the number should be supplemented from the bishops of a neighbouring province.

(c) In the event of certain conditions recommended not being complied with, the accused bishop may have the power of appeal to five metropolitans, the Archbishop of Canterbury being one ; and if three of these judge that it ought to be reheard, it should be reheard accordingly.

(d) When a province desires to have a tribunal of appeal from its provincial tribunal for trying a bishop, the committee consider that such tribunal should consist of not less than five bishops of the churches of the Anglican communion, under the presidency of the Archbishop of

Canterbury, if his Grace will consent thereto, with the assistance of laymen learned in the law.

11. *On the relation to each other of Missionary Bishops and of Missionaries.*—The committee hold that it is expedient that Books of Common Prayer suitable to needs of native congregations in heathen countries should be framed; that the principles embodied in such books should be identical with the principles embodied in the English Book of Common Prayer; and that the deviations from the Book of Common Prayer in point of form should only be such as are required by the circumstances of particular churches. In the case of heathen countries not under English or American rule, the book must be approved by a board (specified), and also submitted for approval to a board in England (specified), and not to be authorised for public worship until such approval has been had. In cases where two bishops of the Anglican communion are ministering in the same country, as in China, Japan, and Western Africa, each bishop should have control of his own clergy, converts, and congregations. It is not desirable that in such countries dioceses, with strict territorial limits, should be defined, but a bishop or missionaries ought not to be sent by one branch of the Anglican communion to a town or district already occupied by another. Every missionary clergyman, whether appointed by a society or not, should receive the bishop's license, and if the bishop refuse it, he should state his reasons to the metropolitan. If licenses are to be withdrawn, the person implicated should have the opportunity of defence; and if after his defence the license is withdrawn, the bishop should state his reasons to the metropolitan (or to the Archbishop of Canterbury when there is no metropolitan), who should have power to revoke the decision. Lay agents should have the license or sanction of the bishop, who should have power to forbid their continuance in their work. Every place in which the Holy Communion is regularly celebrated should have the sanction of the bishop. The committee hold that there are manifest objections to the appointment of a bishop to minister to certain congregations within the diocese of another bishop, and wholly independent of him. The com-

mittee think that for the present the appointment of assistant bishops, whether European or native, subordinate to the bishop of the diocese, would meet the special needs of India in this matter, and would offer the best security for order and peace.

12. *Anglican Chaplaincies on the Continent.*—The committee report, that it is highly desirable that Anglican congregations on the continent of Europe and elsewhere should be distinctly urged not to admit the stated ministrations of any clergyman without the written license or permission of the bishop of the Anglican communion, who is duly authorised to grant it; and that the occasional assistance of strangers should not be invited or permitted without some satisfactory evidence of their ordination and character as clergymen. That it is desirable that two chapels should not be established where one is sufficient for the members of both churches, American and English; also that where there is only one church or chapel, the members of both churches should be represented on the committee, if any. The committee having considered a memorial addressed by four priests and certain other members of "The Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Episcopal Church," praying for the consecration of a bishop, express their sympathy with the memorialists, and having heard a statement of the proposed extension of the Episcopate to Mexico by the American Church, suggest that the bishop when consecrated might visit Spain and Portugal, and render such assistance as at this stage of the movement may seem practicable and advisable.

13. *The Old Catholics.*—The committee desire to record their conviction that the fact, that a solemn protest is raised in so many churches and Christian communities throughout the world against the usurpations of the See of Rome, and the novel doctrines promulgated by its authority, is a subject for thankfulness to Almighty God. All sympathy is due from the Anglican Church to the churches and individuals protesting against these errors, and labouring, it may be, from the assaults of unbelief, as well as the pretensions of Rome. It is our duty to warn the faithful, say they, that the act done by the Bishop of Rome in the Vatican Council of 1870—

whereby he asserted a primacy over all men in faith and morals, on the ground of an assumed infallibility—was an invasion of the attributes of our Lord Jesus Christ. The principles, on which the Church of England has reformed itself, are well known. We proclaim the sufficiency and supremacy of the Holy Scriptures as the ultimate rule of faith, and commend to our people the diligent study of the same. We confess our faith in the words of the ancient Catholic Creed. We retain the apostolic orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. We assert the just liberties of particular and national churches. We provide our people in their own tongue with a Book of Common Prayer and offices for the administration of the sacraments, in accordance with the best and most ancient types of Christian faith and worship. These documents are before the world and can be known and read of all men. We gladly welcome every effort for reform on the model of the Primitive Church. We do not demand a rigid uniformity; we deprecate needless divisions, but to those who are drawn to us in the endeavour to free themselves from the yoke of error and superstition, we are ready to offer all help, and such privileges as may be acceptable to them and are consistent with the maintenance of our own principles as enunciated in our formularies. The committee recommend that questions of the class now submitted to them should be dealt with in this spirit. For the consideration, however, of any definite cases in which advice and assistance may from time to time be sought, they recommend that the Archbishops of England and Ireland, with the Bishop of London, the Primus of the Scottish Church, the presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, the bishop superintending the congregations of the same on the continent of Europe, the Bishop of Gibraltar, together with such other bishops as they may associate with themselves, should provide for such cases as circumstances may require.

14. *The West Indian Dioceses.*—With respect to the West Indian dioceses, assuming such dioceses to desire to be combined into a province, the committee recommend that the formal consent of the synods of the dioceses be

first obtained. The diocesan synods should also decide whether the general synod should consist of the bishops, with representatives from the diocesan synods, lay and clerical, or of the bishops only, with certain limitations as to its power. If the West Indian dioceses be formed into a province, the metropolitan should be elected from and by the bishops of the West Indian dioceses. The committee express their satisfaction at learning, that a church in connection with the Anglican communion has been planted in the island of Haiti, that a bishop has been consecrated thereto by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America and the Bishop of Kingston, Jamaica, and that successful efforts are being made for the training up of a native ministry; and the committee express a hope that God's blessing may rest upon this work.

15. *Marriage Laws*.—The committee, while fully recognising the difficulties in which various branches of the Church have been placed by the actions of local legislatures, are of opinion that steps should be taken by each branch of the Church, according to its own discretion, to maintain the sanctity of marriage, agreeably to the principles set forth in the Word of God, as the Church of Christ has hitherto received the same.

16. *Missionary Board of Reference*.—The committee are of opinion that it is desirable to appoint a Board of Reference to advise upon questions brought before it either by diocesan or missionary bishops, or by missionary societies. They think that the details and constitution of such board ought to be referred to the Archbishops of England and Ireland, the Bishop of London, the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, the presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, with the bishop superintending the congregations of the same on the continent of Europe, and such other bishops as they may associate with themselves, who should communicate with the authorities of the various colonial churches, and with the existing missionary organisations of the Anglican communion.¹

¹ This committee seems to ignore the existence of the lower clergy altogether, and to allow them no voice in the establishing of a mission

17. *Ritualism and Confession*.—The committee, considering unhappy disputes on questions of ritual, whereby divers congregations of the Church of England and elsewhere have been seriously disquieted, desire to affirm the principle that alteration from long accustomed ritual should not be made, contrary to the admonition of the bishop of the diocese.¹ Further, having in view certain novel practices and teachings on the subject of confession, the committee desire to affirm that in the matter of confession the churches of the Anglican communion hold fast those principles which are set forth in Holy Scripture, which were professed by the Primitive Church, and which were reaffirmed at the English Reformation; and it is their deliberate opinion that no minister of the Church is authorised to require from those who resort to him to open their griefs a particular and detailed enumeration of all their sins; or to require private confession before receiving the Holy Communion; or to enjoin or even encourage the practice of habitual confession to a priest; or to teach that such practice of habitual confession, or the being subject to what has been termed the direction of a priest, is a condition of obtaining the highest spiritual life. At the same time the committee desire not to be understood as desiring to limit in any way the provision made in the Book of Common Prayer for the relief of troubled consciences.

18. *Infidelity*.—The committee on infidelity reported that they found it impossible to report satisfactorily in the very limited time at their disposal. The subject was debated at length in the conference, and some of the ablest bishops took part in the discussion. The Bishop of Killaloe, the pupil of Archbishop Whateley, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Peterborough, handled the subject with much power. The discussion lasted some two hours, but nothing was finally drafted.

It was resolved to make the See of Rupert's Land a metropolitan See. On the subject of confession there was a very sharp debate. The older bishops generally

board. As a matter of fact, a mission board has been established by the Convocation of Canterbury, with a due admixture of both orders.

¹ This was the resolution of the Convocation of Canterbury.

supported the report of the committee, but the Bishop of Bombay, the Bishops of Capetown, Bloemfontein and Colombo opposed it strongly.¹ The American bishops appear to have been generally in favour of the report. After adopting the reports of the committees and agreeing to the preamble which was designed to introduce them to the Church,² the conference terminated. The thanks of the metropolitans were justly due, and were fittingly paid, to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the trouble, cost, and anxiety, which this great gathering of the prelates had caused him. But the labours and cares of the excellent Primate were well repaid by the complete success of the synod ; the great access of strength, vigour, and zeal which it brought to the Church, and the high promise which it furnished for the future of the Anglican Church.

¹ *Standard*.

² This, together with those parts of the committee reports which had reference to the universal Church, was afterwards translated into Greek and Latin by an accomplished scholar.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

NAMES OF THE BISHOPS OF THE PAN-ANGLICAN SYNOD,
ARRANGED IN ORDER OF PRECEDENCE FOR PROCESSION
TO ENTER LAMBETH CHAPEL.

Archbishop of York.		Archbishop of Canterbury.		Bishop of London.	
		" Armagh.			
		" Dublin.			
American.	Bp. Potter, New York.	Metropolitans.	Primus of Scottish	Bp. of Winchester.	
	" Bedell of Ohio.		Church.	" Llandaff.	
	" Stevens, Pennsylv-		Bp. of Sydney.	" Ripon.	
	ania.		" Christ Church,	" Bangor.	
	" Coxe, Western New		New Zealand.	" Gloucester	
	York.		" Montreal.	and	
	" Clarkson, Ne-		" Capetown.	Bristol.	
	braska.		" Rupert's Land.	" Chester.	
	" Kerfoot, Pitts-				
	burgh.				
Bp. Wilmer, Louisiana.		Bp. of St. Alban's.			
" Robertson, Missouri.		" Hereford.			
" Morris, Oregon.		" Peterborough.			
" Littlejohn, Long Island.		" Lincoln.			
" Doane, Albany.		" Salisbury.			
" Howe, Central Pennsylvania.		" Carlisle.			
" Hare, Niobrara.		" Exeter.			
" Lyman, North Carolina.		" Bath and Wells.			
" Spalding, Colorado.		" Oxford.			
" Holly, Haiti.		" Manchester.			
" Scarborough, New Jersey.		" Chichester.			
" M'Laren, Illinois.		" St. Asaph.			
" Perry, Iowa.		" Ely.			
" Schereshevsky of China.		" St. David's.			
Bp. of Truro.		" Rochester.			
" Lichfield.		" Sodor and Man.			
" Dover.		" Guildford.			
" Nottingham.		" Perry.			
" Ryan.		" M'Dougal.			
" Hobhouse.		" Claughton.			
" Meath.		" Down.			
" Killaloe.		" Limerick.			
" Tuam.		" Derry.			
" Cashel.		" Ossory.			
" Guiana.		" Fredericton.			
" Adelaide.		" Newcastle.			
" Nova Scotia.		" St. Andrew's.			
" Edinburgh.		" Kingston.			
" Aberdeen.		" Glasgow.			

Bp. of British Columbia.

„	Madras.
„	Ontario.
„	Gibraltar.
„	Maritzburg.
„	Brechin.
„	Trinidad.
„	St. John's (Kaffraria).
„	Argyll.
„	Niagara.
„	Perth.
„	Pretoria.

Bp. of Antigua.

„	St. Helena.
„	Quebec.
„	Falkland Isles.
„	Bloemfontein.
„	Dunedin.
„	Barbadoes.
„	Saskatchewan.
„	Athabasca.
„	Colombo.
„	Bombay.
„	Nassau.

Bp. of North Queensland.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE EXTENSION OF THE EPISCOPATE

1876-1883

1. Suffragan bishops appointed. 2. The movement to obtain an increase of diocesan bishops. 3. The recommendations of the committee. 4. The Act of Parliament and the founding of the new Sees. 5. Growth of the colonial episcopate. 6. New Sees produced by freedom of election. 7. The American Church.

1. THAT a church could not exist in a healthy state which was growing in the number of its clergy and its benefices, and in the vigour, power, and energy of all its organisations, and yet was without a corresponding increase in its episcopate, had long been evident to all Churchmen. Bishops had now learnt that an occasional solemn progress for confirmation and visitation through their dioceses, together with periodical ordinations, and attendance in the House of Lords, did not constitute an adequate performance of their duties. They were looked to to take the lead in all the various movements in their dioceses, to be familiar with the wants and requirements of very large areas, and to be ready to suggest and assist in providing their requirements. As the value and power of united action became more and more developed, both clergy and laity felt more the want of a leader, and none could be found so valuable as a bishop. This multiplication of duties, going on side by side with the rapid increase of population, constituted an overwhelming burden to the English bishops, whose number had only been increased by two since the period of the Reformation,¹ whereas the

¹ The union of Gloucester and Bristol had reduced this increase to one.

population of the country had been several times doubled. Yet there seemed to be an insuperable difficulty in obtaining any increase in the number of Sees. At the time of the passing of the Manchester Bishopric Bill in 1847, it was proposed to found three new Sees, but this had fallen through. The cathedral commission in their report of 1855 had recommended the establishment of ten new Sees, but this had been equally disregarded. There appeared no prospect of any similar project being revived. The jealousy felt as to the increase of the episcopate had not been removed by the proposal, that only the old number of prelates should sit in the House of Lords, and that the occupants of new Sees should succeed by seniority. Under these circumstances, one of the most active, learned, and devout bishops on the bench, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln, bethought him of the Act 26 Henry VIII., c. 14, which authorised the appointment of suffragan bishops for certain Sees. Many of these had existed before the Reformation, but since that time this office had fallen into abeyance. Bishop Wordsworth applied to the Crown to authorise its revival, and his request having been granted, he nominated, as the Act requires, two names for selection by the Crown. The choice fell on Dr. Henry Mackenzie, sub-dean of the Cathedral Church and Archdeacon of Nottingham, who was consecrated at Nottingham Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, February 2, 1870.¹ The example thus set in the diocese of Lincoln has been followed in the dioceses of Canterbury, Winchester, St. Alban's, and London, to the very great advantage and profit of the Church. In addition to the suffragan bishops, colonial bishops, who have been obliged by ill health or other circumstances to resign their Sees, have given very efficient aid to the overworked diocesan bishops.

2. But the appointment of suffragan bishops did not altogether meet the want which existed. The suffragan bishop could not be a centre of unity, an originator and a

¹ This consecration was made specially interesting by the fact that a Greek archbishop—the Archbishop of Syra and Tenos—took part in the laying-on of hands.

leader. He could only act as the officer and deputy of another, and thus, while increasing the power of the agencies already existing, he did not provide any new agency to direct and animate Church work. Consequently the labours of those who were seeking to bring about the extension of the episcopate did not cease. There were two great objects to be attained. One was the provision of sufficient funds to maintain the bishop in the position which his office required, and to enable him to satisfy the manifold demands which would be made on his liberality. The other, to obtain legal recognition and sanction for the foundation of the new See. As respects the latter, the large and influential meeting held in London in 1876, under the presidency of Lord Devon, agreed to present a memorial to the Prime Minister embodying the following resolutions:—“(1.) That the spiritual necessities of England require a well-organised scheme for the increase of the home episcopate. (2.) That with a view to immediate Parliamentary action for the extension of the home episcopate, and the redistribution and division of dioceses, a memorial be addressed to her Majesty's Government, soliciting their support for any well-considered measure that may be introduced with this object.” There was every hope, with the Ministry at that time in office, that the legal sanction might be obtained if only the large sums required could be raised.

3. A special Act of Parliament had in fact been already passed for constituting the See of St. Alban's,¹ the revenues for which were obtained by the sale of Winchester House, and which was, with the See of Rochester, to enable a new distribution to be made of the populous districts on the Surrey side of the Thames, formerly in the dioceses of Winchester and London. For a new Cornish diocese also sufficient funds had been raised, chiefly through the munificence of Lady Rolle, the very great distance of parts of Cornwall from the See of Exeter making it most desirable to revive the ancient bishopric of Cornwall. A special Act of Parliament had been procured for the establishment of this See (39 and 40 Vict., c. 84). But in addition to these

¹ 38 and 39 Vict., c. 34.

Sees, the committee appointed to carry out the objects of the meeting above mentioned reported in favour of the formation of six new Sees. "There will be in England and Wales," it is said, "when the Sees of St. Alban's and Truro are constituted, twenty-nine dioceses, the area of the country being 37,545,817 acres, and the population (by the census of 1871) 22,857,183. The committee are no advocates for pedantic and absolute equality, but they desire as far as possible to redress inequality, so that greater justice may be done to all parts of the country. On the whole, your committee advise the addition of six new Sees to the twenty-nine which will soon exist. Of these three would belong to the province of York, and three to that of Canterbury. They also recommend certain alterations in the boundaries of the actual dioceses." For the northern province they recommend a new See at Newcastle; a new See for the West Riding of Yorkshire, without specifying the place; a new See for Lancashire at Liverpool. For the southern province, a new See for Nottinghamshire and part of Derbyshire at Nottingham; one for Warwickshire at Coventry; one for the county of Surrey at Southwark.

4. The Bill brought into Parliament by Sir R. Cross¹ did not carry out in their entirety the recommendations of this committee, but was grounded upon them. It provided that when sufficient funds had been secured and lodged in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to provide an income of not less than £3000 a year and a suitable residence for each See,² then, in addition to the Sees of St. Alban's and Truro, four new Sees should be founded, viz. Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield. Southwell obtained the preference over Nottingham as the home of the See on account of its magnificent minster, and the old associations connected with its collegiate church. The great populations of Liverpool, Newcastle, and Wakefield were sufficient arguments for the choice of those localities. The bishops to be relieved by the new Sees were allowed to further their endowment by alienat-

¹ Passed August 1878, 41 and 42 Vict., c. 68.

² Or, in default of a residence, £3500.

ing from the Sees held by them as much, in some cases, as £500 a year, in others £400. A munificent gift from Mr. Torr, of Liverpool, greatly furthered the erection of that See, while a no less liberal aid from one not a member of the Church furnished a suitable residence for the See of Newcastle. Contributions flowed in with great liberality, and within a few years from the passing of the Act the Sees of Liverpool, Newcastle, and Southwell were fully constituted and provided with occupants.¹ The large amount so readily subscribed is a noble monument of the liberality of English Churchmen.

5. While the Church at home was thus with difficulty and at a great cost providing a small increase in the number of her bishops, the colonial Church was multiplying her Sees and extending her operations with great rapidity. It was no longer now a question of a few bishops struggling in isolated positions to uphold the Church among a careless population, and dependent for their support upon the Church at home. The colonial Church had now her provinces, her metropolitans, and her provincial synods. In Asia, Africa, New Zealand, Australia, North America, the West Indies, there was a regular organisation of dioceses under primates or metropolitans, each with a respectable number of suffragan bishops.² It was no longer necessary to apply to the Church at home for the division of a diocese and the consecration of a new prelate. The several churches were able to manage their own policy of extension, and to provide their own prelates. Many of the dioceses were still aided liberally by the ancient Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. But some had become self-supporting, and were thus completely founded churches. The conference of the prelates from all parts of the Anglican Church at Lambeth in 1867 had served first to demonstrate the great and growing importance of the colonial

¹ The remaining Sees, viz. that of Wakefield and Bristol (for which a special Act was afterwards obtained), will in all probability soon be completed in their endowment. The exact amount raised for the seven Sees was (at the beginning of 1886) £482,761.

² In 1886—Asia, 15; Africa, 15; New Zealand, 8; Australia, 13; North America, 19; West Indies, 10; total 80.

churches ; and with a wise regard to their future organisation, and with a view of laying down the lines for their development, committees had been appointed to report on all the points of Church government and general arrangement. This subject had been farther pursued at the second Lambeth Conference of 1878, so that everything had been done to facilitate the growth and advance of the Church of England in the colonies on the most approved lines.

6. Circumstances, indeed, had rendered it absolutely necessary that a method should be furnished by the Church herself for the development of the colonial churches. Letters patent for the appointment of a bishop in the colonies having been altogether discredited and abolished, a royal license was next tried ; but in 1867, on application for the grant of one for a Canadian See, it was answered "that it was not the part of the Crown to interfere in the creation of a new bishop or bishopric, and not consistent with the dignity of the Crown to issue a mandate which would not be worth the paper on which it was written, and which, having been sent out to Canada, might be disregarded in the most complete manner." Thus "the election and consecration of the bishop began and ended with the Church, and established a precedent which has been freely followed elsewhere."¹ Under this free system the extension of the episcopate in North America and other provinces has been remarkable.² The diocese of Rupert's Land, itself constituted a metropolitan See, has given birth to five other Sees, and British Columbia has produced Caledonia and New Westminster. In the province of Australasia, Ballarat, North Queensland, and Riverina ; in Africa, St. John's, Kaffraria, and Pretoria have become the Sees of bishops. In 1874 a missionary bishopric of great interest and promise was founded in Madagascar, while our more recent acquisitions in India—Lahore and Rangoon—both received bishops in 1877. In the native states of Travancore and Cochin, which contain 21,600 native Christians, a bishop was

¹ *The English Church in other Lands*, p. 210.

² In spite of the secularisation of the "Reserves." For an account of these see *Notes and Illustrations*.

appointed in 1879; while the See of Madras, with its large and increasing number of Christian converts, obtained in 1877 two assistant bishops.

7. Neither is the growth of the Anglican episcopate to be limited to our own colonies. The Church in America, an offshoot from that of England, in full communion and complete friendship with the English churches, offers a striking spectacle of growth and extension, of energy and power. Its list of bishops gives the amount of sixty-seven. It has forty-nine dioceses and seventeen missionary jurisdictions. Could all the bishops of the Anglican rite be brought together they would now number about 200, but such a gathering of those who are, as it were, scattered over the face of the whole earth, may be regarded as an absolute impossibility. That in the year 1878, at the invitation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, no less than 100 prelates were able to assemble at Lambeth to take counsel together in synod, was assuredly a great and remarkable testimony to the growth and expansion of the Anglican episcopate.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

THE CLERGY RESERVES OF
CANADA.

"These were lands which had been set apart by the British Crown under an Act passed in 1790 for the 'support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy' in Canada. No use having been practically made of the greater part of them (which remained waste and unproductive and unappropriated), their sale by the colonial authorities was authorised, first in 1825, and afterwards in 1840. A dispute had arisen as to the meaning of the words 'a Protestant clergy,' and the judges advised the House of Lords that the words comprehended ministers of the Church of Scotland and of other Protestant denominations, as well as the Church of England. The Act of 1840 proposed to divide the proceeds of the sales, effected and to be effected, in certain unequal shares, between the clergy of the Church of

England, the ministers of the Presbyterians, and such other purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada as might be thought fit by the Governor, with the advice of his executive council. But no such division was made. Instead of it, the whole power of dealing as they chose with these funds and their proceeds was made over in 1853 by the Imperial Parliament to the Canadian Legislature, and the Canadian Legislature applied them to secular uses. But this secularisation was not applied to lands actually assigned and appropriated before 1840 for the endowment out of these 'reserves' of some thirty or forty rectories in Upper Canada. The titles to these lands so acquired were respected, and the clergy of the Anglican Church were left in possession of them."—*Defence of the Church of England*, by Lord Selborne, Introductory Letter, p. xxi.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS COMMISSION

1881-1883

1. Appointment of royal commission on ecclesiastical courts. 2. Statement of objections to Court of Final Appeal. 3. To constitution of ecclesiastical courts. 4. To method of procedure. 5. Historical sketch of the Court of Final Appeal. 6. Principles to guide the recommendation. 7. Recommendations of the commission. 8. Objections to the veto of the bishop. 9. To the proposed Court of Final Appeal. 10. Opinion of the Lower House of Canterbury Convocation.

1. A COMMITTEE of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, appointed April 27, 1877, to report on the relations between Church and State, had investigated with great care, during many sittings, this important subject, and in its report to the Upper House had brought strongly before the notice of their lordships the anomalous condition of the ecclesiastical courts and procedure, and the disturbance produced by the Public Worship Regulation Act. During the consideration of this subject in the Upper House the president announced, that he was about to apply to the Crown for the issue of a royal commission, to investigate the whole subject of the constitution and working of the ecclesiastical courts. Accordingly, on May 16, 1881, this commission was issued, the names of the commissioners being such as to command the most complete confidence from the Church, and to ensure that this difficult and complicated subject would be fully and accurately examined.

2. The very valuable report of this commission, issued in 1883, conferred a great boon on the Church of England. Not only is the whole subject well and wisely elaborated,

but in the appendices to the report a mass of valuable information is furnished, due mainly to the researches of the most accomplished historical scholar of the day, which clears, in a lucid manner, the position of the Church of England, and which is capable of furnishing sound material for any future legislation on Church matters. The report begins by stating the objections which were commonly urged against the present state of things, and which called for the application of a remedy. First, with regard to appeals to the Crown, "It was alleged that the decisions given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which now hears these appeals, have been dictated by policy; that they have been rigid in the enforcement of a particular standard of ritual conformity; lax in reproofing heresy; and opposed to clear principles of theological interpretation. It was contended that the character thus attributed to these decisions was the natural result of the system under which they are pronounced. It was said that it fosters the idea that considerations of policy rather than of pure law are to regulate the advice given; that it allows no expressions of differences of opinion; that it entrusts the interpretation of the formularies, the exposition of the traditions, and the infliction of the spiritual censures of the Church to persons of no theological education; that it grants no representation of the voice of the Church except in the utterances of episcopal assessors, which may be totally disregarded by the lay tribunal alone acquainted with their purport; and that it commits the composition of that tribunal to the absolute discretion of the high officer of state entrusted with the power of summoning to the board such members of the Judicial Committee as he thinks fit to nominate." These objections were presented as having greater force, because such appeals dealt not only with the civil rights but also with the doctrine and worship of the Church, and it was contended that the decisions pronounced and the reasons given for these decisions were taken as authoritative standards of belief and practice. It was further contended that as an historical fact the transference to the Crown at the Reformation of all appeals which had previously gone to Rome was never intended to give to the Crown the con-

sideration of questions of heresy; that such questions had not gone on appeal to Rome, and that they were not heard in courts properly so called, but in the synods of the realm, and were finally settled there. It was said by some that there was no evidence that the court of delegates ever decided doctrinal cases, except in one or two questionable instances, and at a period when the proper procedure was forgotten, synods having fallen into disuse.

3. The objections taken to the ecclesiastical courts are then set out. Up to the year 1874 all the judges in these courts were the representatives of the bishops, the chancellors being appointed by the bishop of the diocese, the judge in the Arches Court and the official principal at York by the archbishops respectively. But (it was said) an entirely new and unconstitutional principle was introduced by the Public Worship Regulation Act 1874. By that Act the two primates were required to select the same official principal, and their choice was to be subject to the approval of the Crown. It was contended that by these innovations the choice of the archbishops was unduly limited, and unconstitutionally controlled, and that by the further provision by which, if the two archbishops should be unable to agree in the choice of a fit person, the appointment should fall to the Crown, the principal judge of the Church of England, the representative of the archbishops, clothed with authority to deprive, was divested of his spiritual character and treated simply as an officer of the State. It was also pointed out that the present Dean of the Arches appeared to hold this view of his position, as on assuming office he had not taken the accustomed oaths, or complied with other ecclesiastical conditions which had been fulfilled by his predecessors. It was earnestly contended that the bishops and archbishops should in future preside in person in these courts, and that their presence would command obedience which would be and which had been refused to lay officials. It was also regarded as essential that in all trials of clerks the sentence should be pronounced by the bishop in open court, and that on appeals to the Crown only temporal questions should be dealt with; that cases of heresy and breach of ritual should

be tried in synod, the bishops being assisted by their presbyters and the archbishops by their comprovincial bishops. Much stress was also laid on the fact that changes in ecclesiastical judicature were made by Parliament alone, without any reference to the voice of the Church as expressed in the Convocations.

4. With regard to procedure it was urged that the treatment of moral offences ought not to be of the same character as that of alleged offences in doctrine or ritual. That the Public Worship Regulation Act, which dealt with ritual offences only, was objectionable on that ground, and that this Act had been applied merely against excesses in ritual and not against defects. The commission of inquiry under the Church Discipline Act, and the right of veto possessed by the bishop, found some opponents. The present procedure of the courts was "unanimously regarded as antiquated, cumbersome, expensive, and unsuited to the requirements of the present day." The great expense of proceeding against a clerk for immorality acted as a practical preventive to action being taken. The imprisonment of clerks for refusing to obey the orders of the courts was strongly disapproved of.

5. Having thus stated the objections entertained to the present state of things, the report proceeds to inquire into the alleged grievances and to suggest remedies. And first it takes cognisance of the methods of procedure in other churches, whether in communion with the Church of England or not. Then it examines the history of the Church of England with reference (1) to the Church law administered, (2) to the constitution of the courts, (3) procedure in the courts. A long and extremely valuable historical survey leads down to the consideration of the peculiar constitution of the modern court of appeal. Of this it says: "The recommendations on the subject of the jurisdiction of the delegates¹ made in the special report of

¹ A learned and elaborate appendix to the report drawn up by Mr. Rothery, her Majesty's registrar, furnishes an exact account of all ecclesiastical causes submitted to the delegates between the Act of 1533, which constituted the court, and the Act of 1831, which took it away. The causes in all amount to 216.

January 25, 1831, were carried into effect by the Acts 2 and 3 Will. IV., c. 92, and 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 41. The former of these Acts, after repealing so much of the Act 25 Henry VIII., c. 19 as related to any power given thereby to appeal to the sovereign in chancery, and so far as the sovereign was thereby empowered to issue commissions for the purpose of hearing appeals, proceeded to transfer the powers of the high court of delegates to the Crown in Council, and to abolish the issue of commissions of review. The latter Act established the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as the tribunal by which these appeals, so transferred to the Crown in Council, were to be heard. This committee was to be composed of such privy councillors as held or had held the office of President of the Council, of Lord Chancellor, of chiefs of any of the three Courts of Common Law, of Master of the Rolls, of Vice-Chancellor of England, of Judge either of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury or of the High Court of Admiralty, or of Chief Judge in Bankruptcy, with power to the Crown to appoint by sign manual two other privy councillors members of the committee. Four members of the committee were to form a quorum, and the duty imposed on the body thus constituted was to report to the Crown in Council, it being provided that the nature of the report should be stated in open court. This Act further contains provisions for the procedure of the committee, conferring on it the powers usually vested in a court of appeal. The substantive effect of these Acts was, therefore, to transfer the final decision of such cases as had previously come before the delegates, to a certain number of persons constituting a committee of the Privy Council, and on this body were conferred all the powers of the delegates, including, as was subsequently held, all the powers of punishing for contempt. Various Acts were passed¹ for the purpose of improving the procedure of the committee, but no legislative change of importance was effected until the Judicature Act of 1873 made it lawful for the Crown to transfer the cases before the Judicial Committee to the court of appeal constituted by

¹ 6 and 7 Vict., c. 38; 7 and 8 Vict., c. 69; 14 and 15 Vict., c. 83; 34 and 35 Vict., c. 91.

that Act, it being provided that the court of appeal, when hearing ecclesiastical causes, should be constituted of such judges, with such archbishops or bishops as assessors, as should be determined by general rules. These provisions were, however, repealed by the Appellate Jurisdiction Act of 1876, which restored the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, with the alteration that in lieu of the provisions contained in the 16th section of the Church Discipline Act that all archbishops and bishops who were privy councillors should be members of the Judicial Committee, and that no cause under the Act should be heard without the presence of at least one such archbishop and bishop, it was enacted that a number to be fixed by order in council of archbishops or bishops should sit as assessors to the Judicial Committee. An order in Council subsequently provided for the appointment of five assessors in rotation, with a provision that at least three should be present at the hearing of a cause. The effect of the repeal of the 16th section of the Church Discipline Act is that whereas, during its being in force, the court of final appeal was differently constituted according as the appeal to it was in a cause under the Church Discipline Act, or in any other ecclesiastical cause, such as a faculty suit, or a suit of *duplex querela*, or a suit under the Public Worship Regulation Act, it is now constituted in one and the same way in all cases.”¹

6. The modern changes in the ecclesiastical courts and their procedure are then specified, and the report proceeds to put forth its recommendations. These are introduced in a tone of justifiable satisfaction: “We do so not without confidence that the verification of these lines of inquiry, by means of the elaborate illustrations and other resources which we present in the appendices, will, by a sound process, conduct others to conclusions not dissimilar to our own

¹ Thus the court of final appeal for ecclesiastical causes has been constituted in three different ways since 1831:—(1.) No bishop necessary, except in cases under the Church Discipline Act, 1831-73. (2.) Bishops as assessors, “as should be determined by general rules,” 1873-76. (3.) Five ecclesiastical assessors in rotation, three at least to be present, 1876.

as to the construction of an efficient system." The report then lays down certain principles—" (1.) Whenever existing processes are shown to be satisfactory in working, or when the desuetude of old ones is due entirely to accidental causes, we have sought to preserve the continuity and restore the vitality of what was true in principle. (2.) The bishop has a paternal authority inherent in his office which can rightly be exerted to avert litigation. (3.) Certain points are omitted because not specified in the commission, *e.g.* trial of bishops, action of Convocation." The recommendations of the commission may be summarised as follows:—

7. Having shown that practically only two classes of offences remain with which Church courts have to deal—viz. those of alleged misconduct or neglect of duty by clerks, and those of heresy or breach of ritual, which have to be dealt with under the present law by the Church Discipline Act and the Public Worship Regulation Act respectively—the commissioners propose the repeal of both these Acts. They suggest that recourse should be had in all cases to the old Church courts, with provisions made for doing away with the complexity of their proceedings and making the process simple. They propose that the courts should be differently constituted for the hearing of charges of misconduct, and charges of heresy or illegal ritual.

I. Cases of alleged misconduct or neglect of duty. (1.) Any person may make complaint against a clerk to the bishop for immorality or neglect with a view to proceedings, or the bishop may *mero motu* appoint a complainant. (2.) If a complaint is made, the bishop has an absolute power of putting a veto on proceeding. (3.) If he allows proceeding, the accused shall be cited into the diocesan court, particulars of the charge being furnished him. (4.) If the accused submit and the complainant agree, sentence may be passed at once. (5.) If not, the case is to be heard in the diocesan court by the bishop as judge, with the chancellor and one other lawyer as assessors. (6.) If the bishop think fit, and both parties assent, the case may be sent to provincial court instead of diocesan, or it may go there on appeal. (7.) The provincial court is to be

presided over by the official principal of the archbishop, who shall be appointed in the ancient way. (8.) An appeal from it to the Crown to lie, to be heard by a body of lay judges not less than five. (9.) An inhibition to the clerk *pendente lite* to be issued. (10.) Judgments in temporal courts to be taken as proofs. (11.) Suits to be commenced within one year of alleged offence. (12.) It is recommended that bishops' costs should be defrayed from some public source, but the source is not intimated.

II. Cases of heresy and illegal ritual. (1.) Any one can complain (but it does not appear that the bishop may proceed *mero motu*). (2.) A hearing and judgment (with consent of parties) may be made by the bishop *in camerâ*, from which there is no appeal. Then proceedings, as in the other case, only for the trial there must be one legal, one theological assessor, to be named by the bishop with advice of the dean and chapter. (3.) If the case is sent to the Provincial Court it may be heard by the archbishop in his Court of Audience with his official principal as assessor, and five theological assessors, who shall be either bishops or professors, past or present, at one of the universities. (4.) An appeal to lie to the Crown, to be heard by a permanent body of lay judges, who are to declare themselves members of the Church of England. (5.) The judges to have power of consulting the archbishops and bishops in the same way that the House of Lords consult the judges, and to be bound to consult them *if one of the judges demand it*. (6.) The judges to deliver their judgments separately. Only the judgment to be binding. The reasoning and *obiter dicta* not to be binding. (7.) When the judgment is to be varied it is to be remitted to the inferior court. (8.) All proceedings in doctrine and ritual to be taken within one year of alleged offence. (9.) Disobedience to order of ecclesiastical court to be punished by suspension and deprivation, but not by imprisonment.

8. To these arrangements, accepted by the majority of the commissioners, some decided objections were entertained by some of the body. With regard to the *veto* allowed to the bishop in cases of alleged immorality or

offence against ecclesiastical law, it was contended by the Lord Chief Justice and others that this veto was "as indefensible in theory as it seemed to be fast becoming intolerable in practice. The right, as now claimed, covers everything—moral delinquency of the gravest kind; doctrinal error; the most extreme ritual excess; whereby in spite and defiance of the law a repugnant congregation may be compelled to assist at a ceremonial which they think symbolises an abject and mischievous superstition." "I think that competent judges, with absolute power over costs, would very soon restrain and, indeed, altogether put an end to frivolous litigation." The great majority of the commissioners were, however, of a different opinion from this. They thought that to take away the power of veto from the bishop—that power being allowed him both by the Church Discipline and the Public Worship Regulation Acts—would have the effect of altogether destroying his quasi-parental position towards the clergy, and would probably involve the Church in a number of vexatious and unnecessary suits.

9. A more important matter, and one which may be said without exaggeration to touch the very existence of the Church, was the constitution of the Court of Final Appeal. It was proposed that this should be constituted by a permanent court of lay judges, who should *have the power* of consulting the archbishops and bishops. But what if they did not use this power, or abide by the opinions of the prelates when obtained? It is hardly to be supposed that such a court as this could ever satisfy Churchmen. Five important members of the commission, two of them being bishops, recorded their dissent from this recommendation, agreeing with the protest of Lord Devon, which ran as follows:—"I dissent from the recommendation that the obligation on the part of the Final Court of Appeal to obtain from the archbishops and bishops answers to specific questions, as to the doctrine or view of the Church of England, should only exist when one or more of the lay judges present at the appeal should demand it. I think that this reference should be made in all questions of doctrine and ritual." None of the commissioners, how-

ever, brought forward the point as to the right of the lay judges to override the opinion when given. It was probably well known to all of them that judges and law lords had distinctly refused to act when their opinions were liable to be thus fettered. Some might be of opinion that, this being so, it were better that the Crown should exercise its supremacy through the spirituality in matters spiritual, than attempt this impossible and unsatisfactory blending of the lay and spiritual. But this opinion did not find expression in the report of the commission.

10. When, however, the matter came to be discussed in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, it was argued by Archdeacon Denison that it was "a fallacy to suppose that an appeal to the Crown meant necessarily an appeal to the laity. This was the first time in the history of England that appeal to the Crown had been so understood. Such an appeal meant an appeal to the supremacy, to see that justice was done. The Crown did not decide by itself, or by its lay or spiritual advisers, but by courts. The appeal in lay cases was to a lay court, and the appeal in ecclesiastical cases was to a spiritual court. Our Lord gave jurisdiction not to laymen, but to the apostles; and this jurisdiction had been handed down to their successors, by whom it had been conferred not only on the bishops but on the priests."¹ Without doubt these words expressed the views of many Churchmen on this point. But the Lower House of Convocation was not prepared to throw over altogether the recommendations of the commission as to this court, and, following in the wake of the five commissioners, it voted "That in accordance with the constitution of this Church and realm the right of appeal for the maintenance of justice in all ecclesiastical causes lies to the Crown. But the House cannot acquiesce in the principle of a final settlement of questions involving doctrine and ritual by a lay court, which is not bound in all cases to consult the spirituality. And this House is further of opinion that a decision in respect of such questions, which had not received the sanction of her spiritual authorities, could not be regarded as the voice of the

¹ *Chronicle of Convocation*, May 13, 1844, p. 185.

Church.”¹ With regard to the other points of the report, the Lower House of Canterbury generally accepted them. The York Convocation did not express any opinion on the Court of Final Appeal, which still remains the great difficulty of the Church of the future.

¹ *Chronicle of Convocation*, May 13, 1844, p. 210.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

1717-1884

1. General survey of the history of the Church of England. 2. Comparison of the nineteenth with the eighteenth century. 3. (*a*) In the matter of education. 4. (*b*) In church-building. 5. (*c*) In providing for foreign missions. 6. (*d*) In revival work. 7. (*e*) In the employment of lay helpers. 8. (*f*) In organisations for helping the fallen. 9. Dangers to the Church from the Romanising spirit. 10. From attempts to break its union with the State. 11. Hardships to the Church arising from State connection. 12. Vast mischief which would result from breaking this connection. 13. Conclusion.

1. IN casting a rapid glance backwards over the history of the Church of England as set forth in the three parts of this Manual, various phases of her condition will naturally strike us. During the middle ages the Church of England was stationary. Held fast in the grasp of an alien power, she could not act or move freely. Her assertion of her national rights, though often repeated, was but feeble and ineffective. She could not touch her formularies or adapt herself to the needs of the people. These were held down by the strong hand of power, rather than attached by intelligent and dutiful loyalty. Then came the great revolution of the sixteenth century, in which many things were done incapable of defence, but which resulted in the great boon of the full recognition and establishment of the national life of the Church of England. The freedom which had been reached soon developed its drawbacks. A contentious and self-confident fanaticism involved the Church in bitter persecutions, and the reaction from intolerant assumptions brought on her the danger of a cold contempt for earnestness. Against this the Church struggled

with considerable success at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. But the change of dynasty, the desertion of her ablest sons, the treachery of some of her most prominent leaders, the silencing of the voice of her synods, constituted a succession of blows which seemed absolutely to threaten the existence of the Church, and to cause her to approximate to a mere State establishment for moral teaching. Then at the lowest ebb a variety of forces began to work within the Church, which gave indications and promise of a better future. Evangelistic attempts of various kinds stirred the people to think, and to crave for something better than that with which they had been too long familiar. The Church without her synods, with prelates of too worldly and timid a cast, could not offer at once the opportunities needed. A portion of her clergy, fired with holy zeal, powerfully influenced many, but these worked rather apart from than by the Church. Then here and there, at the beginning of this century, were found some wise and holy men who pointed to the old paths and indicated a surer way. At length, suddenly appearing in the bosom of one of her universities, there came forth a body of men, able, earnest, skilful with the pen, who may be said almost to have revealed to their generation the nature, teaching, and inherent powers of the Church. Some of these fell, through their own intensity, and set out on alien paths. But their work remained. The priceless boons of high-souled sentiment and divine poetry had been given to the Church. The greatest Christian poet, the greatest theologian of the movement, remained faithful to the Church of their baptism. From the foundation of Church doctrine sprang the development of Church energy and life. This, accompanied indeed by eccentricities, and some practices dissonant from the spirit of the Church of England, was yet productive of great results for good.

2. It is in this vigour and earnestness of Christian work that the present era is most conspicuous, and in which it contrasts most strongly with the period touched upon in the beginning of this volume. Then there was scarce anything being done for promoting sound education,

for the building of churches, for missions abroad, for special missions to the careless and hardened at home, for nursing the sick, for reclaiming the degraded. Now, on every one of these subjects an immense amount of personal labour, an ungrudging profusion of liberality, are being expended.

3. The earlier part of the eighteenth century was not without some valuable efforts to promote Christian education. More than 500 charity schools—in many of which the children were clothed and fed as well as taught—were due to the efforts of the Christian Knowledge Society. In many country parishes dame schools existed, often under the control and direction of the clergyman. But there was no general system of education, and, as a matter of fact, the mass of the population grew up absolutely ignorant. The establishment of the National Society inaugurated a better state of things, and when the State accepted its responsibility, and began to aid both in the building and the teaching expenses of schools, a great improvement rapidly became apparent. Then came a crisis in the history of sound primary education. By the Education Act of 1870 the State entirely separated itself from all concern in the religious instruction of elementary schools, tolerating and accepting all schools indifferently in which the secular instruction was found sufficient, and arranging for the establishment of rate-paid Board schools, which were to be purely undenominational. It was thought by many that this would be the deathblow to Church schools supported by voluntary contributions, inasmuch as the contributor to the voluntary school was not exempted from the payment of rates to the Board school. The effect, however, has been just the contrary. Possessed as all Churchmen are with the conviction of the absolute necessity of religious teaching for all education worthy of the name, the fact that the Board school did not necessarily provide any religious teaching served to quicken them in the development and support of schools where such teaching was to be had. Thus, whereas in 1870 there had been 1,365,080 children provided for in Church schools, in 1881 there were exactly 1,000,000 more provided for ;

and in 1884 the number had risen to 2,454,788. In 1884 there were 11,875 efficient Church schools in the country, which had been built at a cost to the Church of not less than £11,985,949. For ensuring the efficiency of religious instruction inspectors had been appointed in each diocese, the maintenance of whom involves an expenditure of £15,000 a year.¹ For the training of teachers thirty colleges had been established, at a cost of not less than £274,795, at which two-thirds of the entire number of teachers in the country have received their professional education. These teachers are carefully tested in their religious knowledge by an Examining Board, whose work is superintended by an inspector-in-chief appointed by the two archbishops. During the twelve years after the passing of the Education Act the amount of voluntary contributions for Church schools reached £6,111,344;² that of all the other religious denominations taken together only £1,625,500. These great results of the zeal of Churchmen in providing sound education are greatly due to the activity, wisdom, and organisation of the National Society for Education, and contrast very strikingly with the condition of things before the establishment of that body.

4. In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, Parliament, at the request of the Convocation of Canterbury, had voted funds to be derived from a coal tax for the erection of fifty new churches in London to supply the wants produced by the Great Fire. Of these not more than ten were built. In the earlier part of this century some considerable grants were made by Parliament towards church-building, amounting to over a million pounds.³ But the voluntary efforts of the present day reduce these grants to

¹ A very large number of these inspectors act gratuitously.

² In 1884, the amount of annual contributions to Church schools was £585,071 : 11 : 10. In 1885 the Church was educating about half as many again as are being educated in Board schools.

³ In 1818 £1,000,000 was granted by Parliament for the erection of new churches in populous places, and to this £500,000 was added in 1824. But part of this sum was expended for the benefit of the Established Church of Scotland.—See Lord Selborne's *Defence of the Church of England*, p. 167.

very small proportions. By a return made to Parliament in 1874 it was found that during the previous thirty-five years no less a sum than £25,548,703 had been raised by voluntary contributions for the building and restoration of parish and cathedral churches. This return took no account of any sums under £500. The stream of benevolence has not slackened since this return was presented. "The aggregate of private contributions during the forty-four years from 1840 to 1884 for ordinary church-building and church-restoration only may be taken as not less than £34,635,440. The amount expended on cathedral-restoration during the same period of time was £1,738,640, the greater part from private contributions, some part from the ecclesiastical commissioners."¹ Between 1874 and 1884 823 churches have been built, 2468 restored. For the endowment of benefices and for parsonage houses during the last twenty-five years no less a sum than £3,951,381 has been contributed. These benefactions being supplemented by grants from the ecclesiastical commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty, have provided stipends for the clergy of the new churches, and also augmented many of the poorer benefices previously existing. As regards the character of the churches which have been so freely built, they are in many cases exceedingly magnificent, and though sometimes failing to catch altogether the wondrous beauty of the older fabrics, yet in some cases they may aspire to vie with the richest creations of mediæval art. Certainly no want of faith in the future of the English Church is perceptible in the outlay on church-building. The very large sums which have been expended on the building of parsonage houses may be regarded as standing on somewhat of a different footing from the money contributed for churches; but since the residence of the clergy is an absolute necessity for the due performance of services this properly becomes an item of Church expenditure.

5. In the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the Christian Knowledge Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, were the only institutions which in any way testified that the Church

¹ *Defence of the Church of England*, p. 173.

recognised any duty towards the heathen. And these two venerable institutions only recognised that duty in an indirect and imperfect manner. The former society, though it sent out or helped to support some very valuable missionaries, yet considered that its proper and special business was to uphold religion at home by its publications and educational efforts. The latter, established for supporting clergy in the colonies, only indirectly and accidentally touched the heathen. Its income in 1751 was £3719. In 1881 it had risen to £134,970. Its greater means have widened the scope of its action, and now no society can point to more solid results in every department of missionary work. But the records of this society by no means represent the amount of mission work done by the Church of England. The Church Missionary Society did not come into existence till the last year of the eighteenth century. So marvellously has it prospered that its income has reached and exceeded £200,000. The native clergy in connection with this society exceed in number the European missionaries. Its operations are world-wide; but the chief seats of its labours are Africa and India. Besides these great organisations there are numerous other minor societies, bringing up the total of funds furnished by the Church of England for mission work to nearly half a million. To this must be added a large proportion of the funds obtained by the Bible Society, which, though not exclusively a Church society, is yet largely supported by Churchmen. The expenditure for the year 1886 in effecting the wider circulation of the Scriptures at home and abroad was £231,006:9:7.

6. Another form of Church work of far more recent growth than that of foreign missions, has in these last days made striking advances. When the Wesleys and Whitefield, Rowland Hill and Mr. Berridge went from place to place preaching to the masses, they were in effect holding home missions; only their rapid movement from one spot to another hindered the due effect of their work. Mission or revival work within the Church was indeed all that the Wesleys at first contemplated, but the spirit which they had aroused became too strong to be kept within

the bounds which they desired. It demanded an organisation and expression which the Church could not give it, and so it hardened into sects. The same spirit is now evoked in a thousand different localities within the Church, only with such safeguards and precautions that it does not degenerate into a wild fanaticism, nor pass away as a mere temporary impulse. It would be impossible in a short space to give any adequate account of the number of missions that have been held in every diocese of England under the auspices of the Church Parochial Missions Society,¹ and by other agencies; how the vast city of London has been again and again attacked; while even remote and insignificant villages have not been held too humble for care. The mere enumeration of the various agencies employed would be a formidable task,² but even a casual glance at them testifies to the marvellous activity in labours for spreading spiritual instruction and edification now pervading the Church of England. This, if it does not exceed in intensity, certainly immensely exceeds in extent the revival work of the eighteenth century.

7. But there are other forms of religious energy for which no parallel can be found in the eighteenth century, and which are substantially the product of modern times. Among the more permanent forms of mission work must be reckoned the institution, or revival, of the office of reader or lay reader.³ By a resolution of the bishops assembled at Lambeth, it was determined to institute a distinct order bearing this title. The members were to be solemnly admitted by the bishop by prayer and the delivery of the New Testament, without imposition of hands. They were to be employed under the incumbent, and to bear the bishop's commission authorising them generally to aid the clergy, to read the lessons in church, to read prayers and Holy Scripture, and explain the same in such places as the bishop's commission should define. In addition to

¹ Upwards of 1300 by 1885.

² They will be found fully detailed in that excellent publication, *The Official Year Book of the Church of England*.

³ The lay reader of Archbishop Parker's time was only a temporary substitute for the clergyman.

these who bear a definite office very large numbers of Christian workers have been formed into 'lay helpers' associations, which furnish the most valuable aid to the clergy. Of a similar character to the office of reader, which provides work for men, is that of deaconess for women. The deaconess is to be set apart by the bishop publicly and with imposition of hands. She is to be the instructor, adviser, and helper of the poor under the direction of the incumbent, and in some cases to undertake nursing duties as well. Deaconesses' institutions have sprung up in many dioceses, and number a considerable amount of members.

8. In yet another point the Church of to-day stands in a position never before occupied by the Reformed Church of England. No more striking development of vigour and spiritual life could be found than the establishment and rapid spread of sisterhoods of ladies, devoted principally either to nursing the sick or reclaiming the fallen, but having also many other lines of active ministration. The commencement of these in the diocese of Exeter under Miss Sellon, and in that of Oxford at Wantage and Clewer, has already been noted.¹ The twenty-four main houses which have now been established, with their numerous branches and "cells," employ probably upwards of a thousand ladies in every form of charitable help. The zealous and laborious efforts for the restoration of fallen women are among the most meritorious of these works. In this the feeling of the present day contrasts most strikingly with that of the other period with which it has been placed in comparison. The Christian formed upon Law's *Serious Call* and *Christian Perfection* had but little thought for those, who, by open sin or by transgression of the law, had fallen from respectability. The fearful state of the prisons, the pitiless executions, the discipline of Bridewell and the stocks, all indicated a hard and bitter feeling towards delinquents, and showed that the thought about them was rather of the culpability of their offences than of the possibility of their reformation. The Church has now taken a lesson more truly from the life of her Divine Founder, and regards none as excluded from her charitable efforts to

¹ See Chap. XIV.

produce restoration and amendment. Upwards of eighty penitentiaries and houses of refuge now exist in connection with the Church. The prisons are admirably organised and well provided with chaplains. An important Church association for promoting temperance addresses itself to the removal of one of the chief sources of crime. Friendly societies for the young people of both sexes encourage self-respect, and it would be difficult to find any want, weakness, or danger to meet which some remedial organisation does not exist more or less in connection with the Church of England. The awakened charitable life among those who are not members of the Church is probably equally remarkable, but does not call for mention here. That the efforts of all only very inadequately avail to stem the tide of vice and crime and misery is doubtless true ; but, at any rate, the methods are indicated which by increasing vigour and skill in their application may produce greater results than have been yet obtained.

9. But while the best hope for the future may well be cherished, when the surprising development of all schemes of Christian love and care in the Church of England is contemplated, it is not to be concealed that two great dangers menace that Church—of opposite character indeed, but both of most serious import. The first is the undoubted fact that certain of her clergy teach doctrines and encourage practices which are entirely alien from the doctrines and practice of her best divines, and have no real support in her formularies, but are either evolved by the imagination from supposed primitive practice, or are directly imitated from Rome. This tendency towards Romanising happily is not widely spread, but it is sufficiently prevalent to generate considerable suspicion in the minds of the laity, to alienate many from the Church, and to stimulate the action of that persecuting spirit which seeks to repress eccentric conduct or teaching in the clergy by the stern action of the law, at a terrible cost of bitterness and uncharitableness. The unhappy Act of 1874, which was designed to “stamp out Ritualism,” has, by encouraging these prosecutions, only stimulated the growth of developments alien from the Anglican Church. It is

much to be hoped that the greater wisdom apparent in the report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission may soon find legal expression.

10. A danger of an opposite character arises from the persistent effort made by a section of the community to alter the position of the Church of England as regards the State, and to confiscate its revenues for public uses. Some even go so far as to desire to take away its character of unity as a Church, and to break it up into a number of congregations, the inhabitants of each locality being empowered to decide the form of worship and doctrine which is to prevail among them. This movement appears to be mainly due to social considerations, and a sort of uneasy and jealous feeling of the leading position which is held by the Church in the country. It is not grounded on alleged falsity of teaching or scandal given by the lives of the clergy. It assumes rather the character of a friendly interference, and professes itself anxious to *liberate* the Church from State control, out of a tender regard for its highest interests.

11. That the Church has something to suffer from its connection with the State is an undoubted fact. Unjust and persecuting Acts of Parliament are sometimes passed against it, and wholesome measures of Church reform are almost hopelessly impeded. It depends for the selection of its highest officers on the will of the Prime Minister of the day, and the prevalence of politic considerations in such appointments is not unknown. The only court of final appeal which the State will concede to it is not a court to satisfy Churchmen, and its decisions will never have much weight with them.

12. But all these ills and more than these the Church is willing to bear, not so much for the sake of the advantages which itself obtains from State connection, as for the advantages which it is thus enabled to give to the State. For its State connection ensures the presence of the Church in every parish in the land, and thus ensures the placing within the reach of the poorest and most abject the services and sacraments which it believes to be most essential to wellbeing—the care and oversight of one most calculated

to be a valuable guide ; the provision of religious education for the young ; of Christian ministrations to the sick and dying ; besides the numberless offices of a thoughtful charity. That these would altogether cease in many parts of the land, should the position of the Church be interfered with and its revenues alienated, is a fact which can hardly be denied save for the purposes of controversy—and this would constitute a mischief to the country which would probably be irreparable. In a vast number of localities the removal of the one family of cultivated tone and disinterested regard for others would be equivalent to a long step towards barbarism. Manners and morals would rapidly be deteriorated, and religion would not escape. The only form of it likely to be found under such circumstances would be a wild fanaticism, which, while it might be acceptable to the uneducated, would be utterly distasteful to the educated part of the community ; and results would follow which would be dearly bought by the small relaxation of taxation which the confiscation of the property of the Church might purchase. An all-powerful Parliament may determine to disregard the claims of justice, prescription, and manifest right ; but for the legislative power of the country to ignore such evident dangers as these would be sufficient to deprive it of all claim for respect in the judgment of thinking men. It may well, therefore, be hoped that the danger of revolution in the connection of Church and State is not imminent, though undoubtedly it exists.

13. In the several parts of this manual the progress of the Church of England has been traced from its British beginnings, its reinforcement and restoration by the Roman and Scoto-British missionaries, down to the full development of its powers witnessed in the present day. That it has been led by a divine hand through the many dangers and difficulties which have assailed it no true member of it can for a moment doubt. At present the Church of England, with its affiliated churches, is the one great barrier against the prevalence of superstition on the one side, and fanaticism on the other. With its ancient formularies, its calm and sober devotion, its apostolical

succession and sacramental grace, it offers all that the humble Christian needs for his soul's health ; while it protests against the extravagant assumptions of a system founded on human ambition and false pretences, and at the same time refuses to lend itself to the illogical violence of a wild destructiveness. "It was far from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like churches in all things which they held and practised, but it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies which do neither endanger the Church of God nor offend the minds of sober men."¹ The Church of England is thus Catholic in its creeds and ceremonies, but it has also its Protestant side. It holds that "particular churches, in what place of the world soever they be congregated, are the very parts, portions, or members of the Catholic and universal Church, and that between them there is indeed no difference in superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, neither is any one of them head and sovereign over the other, but they are all equal in power and dignity, and all grounded and builded upon one foundation, and therefore the Church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called the Catholic Church, but only a particular member thereof, and cannot challenge or vindicate of right and by the Word of God to be head of this universal Church, or to have any superiority over the other churches of Christ."² Occupying as it does this middle position, and refusing to lend itself to the extravagances of either side, it has been the fate of the Church of England to be assailed by a persistent and continuous series of attacks from every quarter. Had it been merely a human institution it must long ago have succumbed. But the divine life which is in it has availed to bring forth an unbroken series of learned and able defenders, who have triumphantly turned back every violent assault and left in its defences no weak place. To-day it stands fully armed at all points, and fears no assailant who will contend with fair weapons. Only, like every other Christian system, it dreads the craft of the powers of evil, the weakness and

¹ Canon 30.

² "Institution of a Christian Man."—Ninth article of Creed.

waywardness of men's hearts and intellects, the torrent of unbelief ever taking new forms, the allurements of sensuality, the perversions of philosophy, the tendency to rest merely in the seen. Against these enemies it has to contend with the weapons which its Master has given it to use, in trustful faith that it will not contend in vain.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

REVENUE AND NUMBER OF CHURCHES AND CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The following extracts from the *Defence of the Church of England* by the Earl of Selborne are noteworthy as illustrating the condition of the Church of England at the present time :—

1. *Revenue*.—After an elaborate calculation his lordship arrives at the result—"It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the total of £4,810,429 exceeds the utmost money value of the whole endowments (exclusive of churches and residence houses) of the Church of England at the present time," p. 104.

2. *Number of Churches*.—"There are in England 14,558 parish churches and 1110 chapels of ease; in the Isle of Man 17 parish churches and 24 chapels of ease—altogether, 15,752 consecrated buildings (besides cathedrals) set apart for perpetual worship," p. 112. [In addition to these there are a very large number of licensed mission rooms.]

3. *Number of Clergy*.—"The number of clergy in charge of the 13,739 parishes of the Church of England (or of chapels of ease or mission churches, etc., included within them) is 13,824. The number of their assistant curates is 5795. The total number of working parochial clergy is therefore 19,619," p. 107. [See *Official Year Book of the Church of England*, 1886.]

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